



THE HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

FROM 1805 TO 1835.

BY HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A., F.R.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF PARIS, BOSTON AND CALCUTTA,
AND OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY OF GERMANY, OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, AND THE
IMPERIAL ACADEMIES OF VIENNA AND ST. PETERSBURGH, OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES
OF BERLIN AND MUNICH, ETC., ETC.; AND BODEN PROFESSOR OF
SANSKRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME III.

LONDON:
JAMES MADDEN, 3, LEADENHALL STREET;
PIPER, STEPHENSON AND SPENCE,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

M.DCCC.LVIII.

CONTENTS.

BOOK III.

IN THE CLOSE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUIS OF
HASTINGS, 1823, TO THAT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD W.
MINTON, 1835.

CHAPTER I.

Appointment of Mr. Canning as Governor-General. — Accession to the Ministry. — Lord Amherst appointed. — Mr. Adam Governor-General prior to his Arrival. — His Measures, regarding the Press; regarding Hyderabad. — Lord Amherst's Arrival. — Impending War with Ava. — Countries on the Eastern Frontier, — Asam, — Kachar, — Manipur, — Arakan, — Tenasserim, — Ava. — Burma Conquest of Arakan. — Oppression of the People, — their Flight to the British Province of Chittagong, — allowed to settle. — Inroads into the Burma Districts, — ascribed to the British Encouragement. — Burma Forces cross the Frontier, — compelled to retire, — Insurgent Chiefs delivered up. — Emigrations repented, and Fugitives demanded. — Missions to Ava. — Insurrection of Khyen-bran. — Mission of Captain Canning. — His Recall. — Rebel Leaders defeated, — take refuge in Chittagong, — demanded by the Burmas, — seized by the Magistrate, but not given up. — Death of Khyen-bran, and Tranquillity of the Borders. — Suspicions of Ava not allayed. — Correspondence with the Viceroy of Pegu. — Chittagong and Districts in Bengal claimed by the Burmas, — Reply of Lord Hastings. — Asam. — Internal Dissensions. — Burma Interference. — Appropriation of the Province. — Barbarous Tribes. — Kachar. — Manipur, — Family Quarrels of its Rulers, — Burmas called in by Marjit, — placed on the Throne, — expelled, dispossesses the Raja of Kachar, who

Operations against the Burmas, — in Axam, — in Kachar, at Chittagong. — Detachment posted at Ramoo, — Burmas cross the Frontier in a large Force. — Inferiority of the British, — attacked by the Enemy, — Misconduct of the Irregulars, — Retreat and Flight of the Sipahis, — Great Alarm at Chittagong and Calcutta, — Inactivity of the Burmas, — Subsidence of the Panic, — Negrais and Cheduba reduced, — The British Lines at Rangoon harassed by the Burmas, — Detachment sent against them, — unfavourable State of the Country, — Burma Force encountered, — Stockades stormed, — Attack on Stockade at Kemendine, — Repulsed, — Burma Messengers, — object to gain Time, — Troops sent against Kemendine, — Entrenchment on the way carried by storm, — great slaughter, — Kemendine evacuated by the Enemy, — occupied permanently by the British, — Sickness of the Troops, — Unhealthiness of the Season, — Deficiency and Unwholesomeness of Food, — Mortality, — Re-appearance of the Burmas, — Defeat of Part of their Force, — Affair at Dalla, — Stockades at the Con-

CONTENTS.

vii.

Page.

fluence of the Rangoon and Lyne Rivers, — attacked by the Flotilla with Troops on board, and stormed. — Land Column attack Stockades at Kamrut, — seven Stockades, — two principal stormed, the rest abandoned. — Burma Commander among the killed. — Country inundated, — Expeditions by Water, — against Myriam, — Dalla, — and by Sea against Tavoy, — Mergui, — Ye, — and Martaban. — Attempt to recover the Shwe-da-gon by the "Invulnerables." — War-boats captured. — Stockades on the River-bank destroyed. — Madras Troops sent against Kyklu, — repulsed with loss. — A second Detachment sent against the Place, — found abandoned. — Entrenchments at Thantabain on the Lyne River, taken and destroyed. — Force enfeebled by Sickness. — Approach of Maha Bandoola with Sixty Thousand Men. — British force surrounded. — Burmas suffered to advance: their Left attacked and defeated. — Grand Army dispersed, — Rally at Kokien. — Attempts to burn Rangoon, — baffled. — Entrenchments at Kokien attacked and stormed. — Successes of the Flotilla. — Bandoola retreats to Donabew, — altered objects of the Campaign on the part of the Burmas

37

CHAPTER III.

1. — Advance of the British Troops. — Retreat of the Burmas to the Fort of Rangpur. — Dissensions of the Garrison, — capitulate. — Burmas evacuate Asam, — renew the Invasion in concert with the Sing-fos, — their Stockades taken, and they finally retire. — Kachar. — Army assembled for the Invasion of Ava from Kachar. — Nature of the Country, — Impossibility of Advance, — Project abandoned, — the Burmas driven from Manipur by Gambhir Sing. — Arakan. — Large Army and Flotilla assembled for the Invasion of Ava by way of Arakan, — Difficulty of procuring Carriage, — Discontent of Bengal Troops, — Insubordination of the Regiments at Barrackpore, — ordered on Service, — Grievances unredressed. — 47th in a State of Mutiny, — Measures for its Suppression. — Troops collected at Barrackpore. — Mutineers fired upon, — some killed, others taken and sentenced to Death, or to Imprisonment, — some executed, — the rest pardoned. — Difficult Progress of the Army in Arakan. — Road along the Coast crossed by wide Estuaries. — Passage of the Naf, — of the Myoo. — Army collected on the Koladyne. — Repulse of the Flotilla at Kiung-

pala. — Advance of the Army towards Arakan, — opposed by the Enemy. — First Attempt to cross the Hills unsuccessful, — the Burma Position turned, — Arakan occupied, — Burma Force evacuates the Province. — Sandoway and Ramri reduced. — Attempts to discover Passes over the Mountains to Ava unsuccessful. — Unhealthiness of Arakan, — extreme Sickness and Mortality of the Troops, — the Town abandoned	PAGE 61
--	------------

CHAPTER IV.

Rangoon. — Friendly Disposition of the People of Pegu, — invited to elect a Prince. — Communication with Chiefs, — Military Cooperation offered, — not received. — Determination of Sir A. Campbell to advance, — in two Columns, — one by Land, — one by Water. — Detachment sent against Bassein. — Burmas retreat to Donabew, and Detachment returns to Rangoon. — March of the Land Column to Tharawadi, — found deserted, — thence to Yuadit, — whence it returns to Donabew. — Proceedings of Water Column, — Arrival below Donabew. — Attack of Stockades, — Insufficiency of Force, Junction of Land Column, — Batteries opened, — Sally of Burmas with Elephants, — Repulsed. — Death of Bandoola. — Donabew evacuated, — Arrival at Prome, — Force cantoned for the Rains, — Negotiations for Peace. — Aggression of Siamese on the Tenasserim Coast, — repulsed. — Mission to the Burma Camp at Miaday. — Armistice agreed to. — Conference with the Kyi Wungyi. — Terms of Peace, — objected to by the Burmas, — Renewal of Hostilities. — Repulse of British at Wati-gaon. — Advance of Burma Army, — attacked, — Defeat of their Left, — of their Right and Centre, — Retreat to Melloon. — Advance to Patanagoh. — Treaty with Ministers not ratified. — Entrenchments at Melloon carried, — Advance to Pagahm. — Final Defeat of the Burma Army. — Affairs in Pegu. — Advance of Main Army to Yandabo, — Negotiations for Peace, — Treaty concluded. — Conditions, — Return of the Troops. — Reflections on the War, — its Inevitableness, — the Mode of its Prosecution, — Value of Acquisitions	
---	--

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER V.

Pa
State of Feeling in Hindustan in 1825. — Extensive Dissatisfaction. — Protected Sikh States. — Raja set up at Kunjawa, — Fort stormed. — Religious Impostor put down. — Outrages in Hariana. — Attack on Kalpee. — Mischievous Reports current in Malwa. — Predatory Incursions of Sheikh Dalla. — Rising of the Bhils in Baglana, — of the Coolies in Guzerat. — British Officers killed at Kittur, — Fort surrendered. — Capture of Omraiz. — Troublesome Conduct of the Raja of Kolapur, — Force sent against him, — Treaty concluded, — violated and renewed, — Military Control maintained until his Death. — Disturbances in Cutch. — Incursions from Sindh. — Feelings of the People towards the British Government in the British Provinces. — Sentiments of the Native Princes. — Relaxation of Control. — Transactions with Alwar. — Claimants for the Raj. — Attempted Assassination of Ahmed Bakhsh Khan, — Investigation demanded, — refused by the Raja. — Transactions with Bhurtpore. — Recognised Right of Succession of the Infant Raja. — Death of the Father, Baldeo Sing. — Guardian of the Minor murdered. — Durjan Sal seizes the chief Power, — his right disallowed by the Resident of Delhi, — professes to act as Regent, — Professions not credited. — Sir D. Ochterlony assembles a Force against Bhurtpore, — Measures disapproved of by the Government, — Employment of Troops countermanded, — Resignation and Death of Sir D. Ochterlony, — his Popularity, — Prudence of the Decision of the Government, — Final Determination. — Large Force assembled under the Commander-in-Chief. — Siege of Bhurtpore, — Walls breached, — Mines sprung, — carried by Storm, — Durjan Sal taken. — Regency appointed. — Advance against Alwar. — Raja submits. — Visit of the Governor-General to the Upper Provinces. — Intercourse with the King of Oude. — Loans by the Court of Lucknow, — Death of the King. — Missions from Holkar, — and from Sindhia. — Death of Daulat Rao. — Regency of Baizi Bai. — Adoption of a Successor. — Visit to Delhi. — Residence at Simla. — Friendly Communications with Runjit Sing. — Insurrection of Afghans, — incited by Syhed Ahmed, — his Death. — War between Persia and Russia, — Successes of the Russians. — Territory ceded and Indemnification paid by Persia. — Abrogation of British Subsidy. — Death of

	Page
Abbas Mirza. — Return of the Governor-General to Calcutta. — Discussion of Judicial Arrangements. — Progress at the Different Presidencies. — Death of Sir T. Munro. — State of Finances. — Domestic Affairs. — Succession of Bishops. — Advance of Education. — Expedition in search of Traces of La Perouse. — Close of Lord Amherst's Government, and Departure for England	112

CHAPTER VI.

Lord W. Bentinck appointed. — Prior to his Arrival, Mr. W. B. Bayley, Governor-General. — First Measures of Lord W. Bentinck. — Economical Reform. — Reduction of Military Allowances, or Half-Batta Retrenchment. — Great Unpopularity of the Reduction. — Memorials against it referred to the Court of Directors. — Orders to maintain it. — Appointment of Committees of Finance. — Reductions effected. — Improvement of Sources of Revenue. — Attempt to limit the Production of Malwa Opium. — Treaties with Native Princes. — Evils and Insufficiency of the Plan. — Abandoned. Opium Passes granted. — Successful. — Investigation of Rent-free Tenures. — Origin of Exemptions. — Recognised by the British Government. — Regulations for Investigating Invalid Titles. — Appointment of Special Commissioners. — Petition against the Enactment. — Change of System in uniting Judicial and Revenue Functions. — Appointment of Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit. — Advantages of Simplification. — Defects of the Plan, — its Failure. — Alterations in Civil Justice. — Extended Employment of Native Judges. — Second Court of Appeal appointed, and Deputation of Revenue Board at Allahabad. — Abolition of Suttee, — previous Measures of the Government to restrain the Practice, — their Insufficiency. — Civil and Military Officers consulted by Governor-General, — Difference of Opinion, — Arguments against Abolition, — those in favour of it, — Resolution of the Governor-General to prohibit Suttees, — Regulation to that effect, — no Resistance offered, — prohibited at Madras and Bombay, — Petition of Hindus of Bengal against the Regulation, — Counter Petition, — Appeal to the King in Council, — read before the Privy Council, — Appeal dismissed, — prohibited by some of the Native States. — Enactments securing Hereditary Rights of Converts from Hinduism. — Judicial and Revenue Enactments at Madras and Bombay, — Discontinuance of Separate Legislation. — Dispute with Supreme Court of Bombay, — recent Establishment of the

CONTENTS.

xi

Page

Court, — Loftiness of its Pretensions. — Extension of Claims of Jurisdiction. — Case of Moro Raghunath of Poona. — Writ of Habeas Corpus issued for his Production, — Execution resisted, — Jurisdiction of Court denied. — Death of two of the Judges. — Letter of the Government, — treated as derogatory and illegal, — referred by Petition of Sir J. Grant to the Privy Council, — Process re-issued, — opposed by the Government, — Court closed, re-opened, — Grounds of Proceedings. — Powers of the Court of King's Bench universal over the Subjects of the Crown, — same delegated to the Court of Bombay. — Privy Council decide against the Pretensions of the Court. — Investigations in Bengal in Communication with the Judges as to a Legislative Council, — recommended. — Final Arrangement, — Legislative Member of Council. Visit of Governor-General to the Hills. — Plan of Revenue. — Settlement of the North-Western Provinces finally determined, and actively carried on. — Practices of the Murderers, called Thugs, — Measures for their Extirpation, — their Success. — Progress of Education. — Exclusive Cultivation of English proposed, — Objections to. — Steam Communication with Europe. — Commerce. — Finance. — Revenue.....	166
---	-----

CHAPTER VII.

Internal Occurrences, — occasional Disturbances, — Tumult raised by Mohammedan Fanatics near Calcutta, — suppressed. — Troubles on the Eastern Frontier. — Asam. — Incursions of Singphos. — Kasya Hills, — Murder of Lieutenants Bedingfield and Burlton, — desultory Hostilities, — Submission of the Chiefs, Surrender of Raja Tirath Sing, imprisoned for Life, — succeeded by Raja Sing, — Agreement with him. — Kachar. — Assassination of the Raja, — annexed to the British Provinces. — Jyntin, — British Subjects sacrificed, — Land sequestered, — Raja pensioned. — Tenaserim. — Insurrection at Tavoy and Mergui, — defeated. — Malacca, — Demands on the Pangdulu of Naning, — resisted, — deposed from his Office, — Detachment sent against him, — defeated, — Reinforcements sent from Madras, — opposed by the Malays, — advance to Tabo. — The Panghulu flies, — surrenders himself, — Naning annexed to Malacca, — Disturbances on the Western Frontier. — Sambhalpur, — Kole Insurrection in Chota-

	Page.
Nagpur. — Bamanghati. — Burrabhūm. — South-Western Frontier Provinces placed under a Commissioner. — Troubles in the Northern Circars and at Kenedi quieted. — State of Mysore, — Misgovernment of the Raja, — Popular Insurrections. — Raja deposed. — Mysore governed by a Commissioner. — Visit of the Governor-General to the Madras Presidency. — Affairs of Coorg. — Cruelty of the Raja, — Enmity to the British, — Treacherous Designs. — declared an Enemy. — Invasion of Coorg in Four Divisions. — Advance of the First and Second to Madhukaira, — the Third repulsed, — the Fourth obliged to retire, — the Raja surrenders, — sent a Prisoner to Bangalore, — the Province annexed to the British Government. — The Governor-General in the Nilgerhi Hills. — First Council of India. — Change of System proclaimed. — Return of the Governor-General to Bengal.....	220

CHAPTER VIII.

Relations with Native States, — Abandonment of Protective Policy, — System of Non-interference, — partial and mischievous Operation, — Interference authorised with Extra-Indian States, — Inconsistency, — and Consequences. — King of Delhi sends an Agent to England. — The Governor-General declines an Interview. — Assassination of Mr. Fraser. — Punishment of the Murderers. — Affairs of Oude. — Guarantee of the Person and Property of the Minister, — continued in Office by the new King for a short Time, — Dismissal and Demands against him, — allowed to retire to Cawnpore, — his Death. — Conduct of the King. — Appointment of Hakim Mehdi. — Salutary reforms, — not considered sufficient. — King threatened with Deposal, — Resident not to interfere, — Solicitations of the Minister. — Progress of Reform. — Intrigues against Hakim Mehdi, — his Dismissal. — Conditional Instructions to assume the Government, — their enforcement suspended. — Death of the Nizam. — His Successor requires the Removal of the British Officers. — Decline of the Country. — Affairs of Palmer and Co. — Differences between the Directors and the Board of Control. — Writ of Mandamus. — Bhopal. — Disputes between the Begum and the young Nawab, — the latter set aside in Favour of his Brother. — The Begum unwilling to relinquish her Power. — Nawab appeals to the

CONTENTS.

Governor-General, — has Recourse to arms, — final Success. — States of Gaffur Khan and Amir Khan. — Visit of Amir Khan to the Camp of the Governor-General at Ajmir. — New Policy towards the States on the Indus. — Origin in England. — Commercial Treaties. — Interview with Runjit Sing. — Unsuccessful Attempt of Shah Shuja to recover Kabul. — Relations with the Mahrattas. — Nagpur prosperous under British Management, — transferred to the Raja. — Apa Saheb in Jodhpur. — Relaxation of Control over the Gaekwar. — Misgovernment of Syaji, — Quarrels with the Resident, — Districts sequestered, — restored to him. — State of Indore. — Defects in the Character of Holkar — his Death. — Adoption of Martand Rao. — Government seized by Hari Holkar. — acknowledged as Raja. — Disputes at Gwalior. — Insurrection of the Soldiery in favour of the Raja. — Baizi Ba obliged to retire from Gwalior. — Settled in the Dekhin. — Result of British Policy. — Relations with the Rajput States. — Kota. — Disputes between the Rao and the Raj Rana. — Final Partition. — Bundi Family Dissensions. — Murder of the Minister. — Party from Jodhpur attacked. — Interference of the Political Agent. — Decline of Udaypur upon withdrawal of Interference. — Outrage of the Minas of Chappan checked. — Renewed Insurrection of the Grasias, — Exertions of the Superintendent, — Order re-established. — Death of the Rana Bhim Sing, — succeeded by his Son. — Jodhpur. — Disputes between Man Sing and his Chiefs. — Management of Mherwarn. — Chiefs invite Dhokal Sing, — his Progress. — Raja alarmed. — British Government interferes, — cautious Character of Interference, — Mediation accepted. — Secret Hostility of Man Sing, he favours and shelters Marauders. — Force collected against Jodhpur. — Man Sing alarmed, — submits to all Demands, — Jaypur, — long and uneasy Intercourse. — Influence of Jota Ram and Rupá Bhandarin. — Dislike by the Regent Rana of the Manager Bhyri Sal, — his Removal. — Doubts of the Existence of the young Raja. — Return of Jota Ram. — Sentiments of the Chiefs in favour of the Regent-Mother. — Public Appearance of the Raja. — Unpopular Measures of Jota Ram. — Discontent of the Chiefs. — Inveterate Animosity of Jota Ram to Bhyri Sal, — Efforts against him, — frustrated by British Guarantee. — Death of the Dowager Rani. — Force sent into Shekhawat. — Forts destroyed. — Raja protests against the Expedition, — his sudden Illness and Death. — Universal Suspicion. — Resignation of Jota Ram, — and Removal of Rupá. — Political Agent sent to Jaypur. — Bhyri Sal, Manager. — Attack on the Agent, and Murder of

	Page
Mr. Blake. — traced to Jota Ram,—who is imprisoned for Life. — Murderers punished. — Council of Regency under general Control of the Resident. — Evils of Non-interference in regard to secondary Rajput States, — necessarily resumed. — Sirodhi Frontier. — Adjustment of disputes between Bhikaner, Jesselmer, and Bahawalpur	251

CHAPTER IX.

Proceedings in England. — Termination of the Company's Charter. — Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament. — Parliament dissolved. — Committee of House of Commons re-appointed, — interrupted and renewed, — appointed for the fourth Time, — divided into Sub-Committees. — Reports submitted. — Questions at issue. — Monopoly of China Trade, — Objections to its Continuance, — replied to. — Correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Ministers. — Paper of Hints. — Government of India to be left to the Company. — Objections of the Court. — Necessity of Commerce for the Government of India. — Payment of Territorial Charges in England dependant on Proceeds of Trade. — Deficiency of Revenue made good in Part by Commercial Profits. — Reply of Mr. Grant. — Property of the Company to be transferred to Territory, and Dividends to be charged to it. — Objections of the Court. — Demand Securities. — Insinuated Liabilities of Assets. — Qualified Assent of the Court. — Stipulation for a Guarantee Fund, and for Liberty to appeal to Parliament objected to. — Question referred to Proprietors. — Proceedings of General Courts. — Resolutions proposed, — Amendment, — carried by Ballot, — communicated to Ministers, — consent to modify the Terms, — still objected to by the Court. — Ministers persist, and the Court submit. — Dissent of the Chairs. — Arrangements agreed to by the Proprietors, — submitted to Parliament. — Pecuniary Claims on Natives of India. — Claims of Bankers on the King of Oude. — Interference declined by the Court, — required by the Board. — Mandamus applied for, — not persisted in. — Claims on the Zemindar of Nozid, — disallowed by the Court, — adopted in Parliament. — Act passed in favour. — Claims of Mr. Hutchinson. — submitted to Parliament, — rejected. — Renewal of Charter brought before Parliament. — Observations of Mr. Grant.

CONTENTS.

XV

Page.

— Measures proposed. — Remarks of Mr. Wynn and Mr. Buckingham. — Resolutions passed and communicated to the House of Lords. — Opposition of Lord Ellenborough and Duke of Wellington. — Clauses of Bill discussed in both Houses, — communicated to the Court of Directors, — Objections of Court to a Change in the Constitution of the Indian Government, — to a fourth Presidency, — to Abolition of Subordinate Councils, — to additional Member of Council, — to Increase of Ecclesiastical Establishment, — and to Alteration in Appointment of Civilians. Petitions against the Bill, — not received in either House of Parliament. — Bill passed the House of Commons. — Recommendation of the Court of Proprietors to acquiesce. — Dissent of Chairs. — Motives for its Adoption. — General Court determine by Ballot to accept the Bill. — Bill passed into a Law. — Termination of Company's Commercial Existence. — Concluding Remarks.... 331



HISTORY

OF

BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK III.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, 1823, TO THAT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LORD W. BENTINCK, 1835.

CHAPTER I.

Appointment of Mr. Canning as Governor-General.—Accession to the Ministry.—Lord Amherst appointed.—Mr. Adam Governor-General prior to his Arrival.—His Measures regarding the Press; regarding Hyderabad.—Lord Amherst's Arrival.—Impending War with Ava.—Countries on the Eastern Frontier,—Asam,—Kachar,—Manipur,—Arakan,—Tenasserim,—Ava,—Burma Conquest of Arakan.—Oppression of the People,—their Flight to the British Province of Chittagong,—allowed to settle.—Inroads into the Burma Districts,—ascribed to British Encouragement.—Burma Forces cross the Frontier,—compelled to retire.—Insurgent Chiefs delivered up.—Emigrations repeated, and Fugitives demanded.—Missions to Ava.—Insurrection of Khyen-bran.—Mission of Captain Canning.—His Recall.—Rebel Leaders defeated,—take Refuge in Chittagong,—demanded by the Burmas,—seized by the Magistrate, but not given up.—Death of Khyen-bran, and Tranquillity of the Borders.—Suspensions of Ava not allayed.—Correspondence with the Viceroy of Pegu.—Chittagong and Districts in Bengal claimed by the Burmas.—Reply of Lord Hastings.—Asam.—Internal Dissensions.—Burma Interference.—

Appropriation of the Province.—Barbarous Tribes.—Kachar.—Manipur,—Family Quarrels of its Rulers.—Burmas called in by Marjit,—placed on the Throne,—expelled,—dispossesses the Raja of Kachar, who applies to Ava.—Government of Bengal undertakes his Restoration.—Burmas enter Kachar,—are attacked.—Outrages on the Chittagong Frontier.—Claim to Shapuri.—Position of the Island,—included in the British Districts.—Guard posted on it forcibly dislodged by the Burmas.—The Island re-occupied.—Remonstrance addressed to the King disregarded.—The Court of Ava determined on War.—Burma Forces in Kachar routed at Bikrampur and Jatrapur.—British Detachment repulsed at Dudhpathi,—retire to Sylhet.—Burma Mode of fighting;—Trenches,—Stockades.—Assemblage of Troops in Arakan.—Proclamation of War.—Plan of Hostilities.—Expedition against Rangoon from Bengal,—from Madras.—Situation and Defences of Rangoon,—the Town taken.—Policy of the Burmas.—Population of Rangoon desert the Place.—Supplies not procurable.—Difficulties of the Troops.—Impossibility of Advance into the Interior.—Position of the British Troops at Rangoon.—Shwe-da-gon Pagoda,—Description of,—abandoned by the Priests,—occupied by the British.—Double Lines connecting the Pagoda and the Town.—Military Excursions.—Setting in of the Rains.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

1823.

AS soon as the intention of the Marquis of Hastings to retire from the Government of India was made known to the Court of Directors, they proceeded to nominate a successor in the person of George Canning. This distinguished statesman and orator had held the office of President of the Board of Control from June 1816 to December, 1820, and by his general concurrence with the commercial and political measures of the Court, had secured their good will and that of the proprietary body.¹ The embarrassing position in which he stood towards his colleagues in the administration, and his consequent separ-

¹ See Correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Right Honourable George Canning, President of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, and Proceedings of the Court of Proprietors.—Asiatic Journal, April and May, 1821.

ation from them, disposed them to contemplate with satisfaction his removal to a distant region; and his nomination was readily confirmed. It may be doubted, if Mr. Canning accepted the appointment without reluctance. The field most congenial to his talents was the House of Commons, where his display of wit and eloquence ensured him the admiration of even his bitterest opponents. In India, as he well knew from his experience at the Board, oratory was of no value: he would there have to act, not to talk — to reason, not to debate — and, instead of pouring out a torrent of words fitter to bewilder than to convince, admitting no pause for thought, he would have to vindicate his proceedings by principles carefully weighed and cautiously advocated, and subject to the calm and deliberate scrutiny of superior authority. That some such hesitation influenced his purposes, may be inferred from the scant alacrity of his preparations for his departure. The delay was productive of a change of destiny; and before he had embarked for India, the death of Lord Castlereagh and the exigencies of the government placed him in the position of which he had long been ambitious, and for which he was eminently qualified, that of the leading representative of the ministry in the House of Commons.

The elevation of Mr. Canning to a principal place in the Home Administration, again left the office of Governor-General vacant. The vacancy was filled up by the nomination of Lord Amherst, a nobleman who had taken no share in the party animosities of the period; but who, a few years before, had discharged with credit the embarrassing office of Envoy to China, and had resisted with dignity and firmness the attempts of the Court of Peking to extort from him those confessions of humiliation, which it was its policy to demand from all states so abject or unwise as to solicit the admittance of their representatives to the Imperial presence. Untaught by the repeated failures of both the Dutch and English governments to negotiate with the cabinet of Peking upon a footing of equality, the despatch of an Embassy by the Crown had been urged by the Company's servants in China upon the home authorities, consequently upon disputes with the vice-regal government of Canton, and the recommenda-

BOOK III. tion had been inconsiderately adopted. The disagreements
 CHAP. I. had in the mean time been adjusted on the spot ; and the
 1823. only results of the mission were the subjection of the
 ambassador to gross personal indignity, and the precipi-
 tate dismissal of the Embassy without any communication
 with the emperor. The conduct of Lord Amherst under
 these trying circumstances had afforded entire satisfaction
 to his own government and to the Court of Directors ;
 and his elevation to the high office of Governor-General
 of India was a compensation for the ordeal he had gone
 through at Pekin.¹

In the interval that elapsed between the departure of
 the Marquis of Hastings in January, 1823, and the arrival
 of Lord Amherst in the August following, the Govern-
 ment devolved upon the senior Member of Council, Mr.
 John Adam. During the brief period of his administra-
 tion, tranquillity prevailed throughout Hindustan ; and
 the prosperous condition of the finances enabled him to
 address his principal attention to the relief of the public
 burthens, and the adoption of measures of internal im-
 provement. The interest of the public debt was finally
 reduced from six to five per cent., and a proportionate
 annual diminution of expense consequently effected.² The
 accession to the revenue thus realised, was considered by
 the local government to be applicable to objects of public
 advantage ; and, consistently with this impression, it was
 determined to give effect to the provision of the last
 Charter, sanctioning the yearly outlay of one lakh of
 rupees on account of native education, and to adopt mea-
 sures for the systematic promotion of so important an ob-
 ject. Other projects of a like beneficent tendency were in
 contemplation, when they were suspended by prohibitory
 instructions from home,³ and finally frustrated by the
 financial difficulties consequent upon an expensive war.

¹ Journal of the Proceedings of the late Embassy to China, by Henry Ellis.
 —Notes of Proceedings and Occurrences during the British Embassy to Pekin,
 in 1816, by Sir G. Thomas Staunton,

² The annual amount of interest in Bengal, in 1821-2, was Rupees
 1.60.00.000; in 1822-3, it was reduced to Rupees 1.30.00.000, being a diminu-
 tion of thirty Lakhs, or £300,000.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1842, vol. i,
 part 2. p. 246.

³ Letter from the Court to the Bengal Government, 24th Feb. 1824.—Report
 Commons Committee, Public App. p. 107. "The act of the 53rd George III.,"
 the Court observes, "provides for the appropriation of any surplus, with
 exception of the provision for literary purposes, shall be restricted to the

The proceedings of Mr. Adam's administration, with respect to the Calcutta press and to the house of Palmer and Co., at Hyderabad, have been already adverted to. Upon these two subjects, he had, while Member of Council, uniformly dissented from the opinions of the Governor-General; and it was to be anticipated, from his known character for firmness and consistency, that, whenever the decision rested with himself, he would not be deterred by any fear of unpopularity, from acting up to the principles he had maintained. The occasion soon occurred. The editor of the *Calcutta Journal* having infringed the regulations to which the press had been subjected by the Government, rendered himself liable to the infliction of the penalty with which he had been previously menaced; and he was, consequently, deprived of his license to reside in Bengal, and compelled to return to England. This proceeding exposed Mr. Adam to much obloquy, both in India and in England; but the sentence was confirmed by repeated decisions of the Court of Proprietors, and by the judgment of the Privy Council, upon a petition for the annulment of the Press regulations, which was refused;¹ and it was no more than the natural and necessary result of the conviction which Mr. Adam had all along avowed of the incompatibility of an unrestricted freedom of the press with the social condition of British India.²

BOOK III. CHAP. I.

1823.

liquidation of the public debt." And they question the estimate of the Bengal Government as to the amount of the surplus; as it was not apprised of the extent of the home demands on territorial account; the Court having already ordered a remittance from India, of two millions sterling, to provide for the charge, and announcing a farther outlay during the current year of nearly a like extent. These remittances must have been provided from some other source, as the surplus was soon absorbed by the expenses of the war with Ava.

¹ See Reports of Debates at the India House, 9th and 23rd July, 1824; 22nd December, 1824; 18th January, 1826. After the latter, in which the question of compensation for losses incurred was discussed, a ballot was taken on the 11th April, 1826, when 157 voted for, and 426 against it. — *Asiatic Journal*, *passim*. — For the decision of the Privy Council, 1827, November, 1825.

² The nature of Mr. Buckingham's offence might have seemed to call for a punishment less severe, as it was merely a paragraph throwing ridicule upon the appointment of a minister of the Scotch church to the office of Clerk to the Committee of Stationery; but the act was a breach of the regulation prohibiting editors of papers from commenting on the measures of the Government; and it was committed in defiance of a previous intimation, that on the first occasion on which such a disregard for the regulations of the Government, as had been formerly evinced, should be repeated, the penalty of a revocation of the licence would be inflicted. The particular occasion was of little moment: it was the reiteration of the offence which incurred the sentence.

OK III. The connection of the mercantile house of Palmer and
 AP. I. Company with the minister of the Nizam had always been
 823. strenuously objected to by Mr. Adam, and he had warmly
 supported the similar views entertained by the resident,
 Sir Charles Metcalfe. He was fully prepared, therefore,
 to carry into effect the orders of the Court, received
 shortly before the departure of his predecessor, and to
 put an end to transactions which he considered as unjust
 to the Nizam and discreditable to the British character.
 The advance to the Nizam of a sufficient sum to discharge
 his debt to Palmer and Company, in redemption of the
 tribute, on account of the Northern Circars, was in con-
 sequence concluded; and the house was interdicted from
 any further pecuniary dealings with the Court. The de-
 termination was fatal to the interests of the establish-
 ment; and, as many individuals were involved in its
 failure, the measure contributed to swell the tide of
 unpopularity against the Governor-General: such, how-
 ever, was the solid worth of his character, and such the
 universal impression of his being alone actuated by a
 conscientious consideration for the public good, that his
 retirement from public duty on account of failing health,
 and his subsequent decease, called forth a general expres-
 sion of regret from his contemporaries, and a deserved
 tribute of acknowledgment from those whom he had long,
 faithfully, and ably served.¹

The new Governor-General assumed the supreme autho-
 rity in August, 1823, and had scarcely had time to cast a
 hasty glance at the novel circumstances around him, when
 indications of a storm, which had been silently gathering
 for a long time past upon the eastern portion of the
 British dominions, became too imminent to be longer
 disregarded, and required to be encountered with all the

¹ Mr. Adam died on the 4th June, 1825, on board the *Albion*, bound to England, where she arrived on the 11th September. On the 14th, the following resolution was passed by the Court of Directors;—"Resolved unani-
 mously, That this Court, having received the melancholy intelligence of the
 death of Mr. John Adam in his passage from India to this country, desire to
 record in the strongest terms their deep sense of his exemplary integrity, dis-
 tinguished ability, and indefatigable zeal in the service of the East India
 Company, during a period of nearly thirty years; in the course of which, after
 filling the highest offices under the Bengal Government, he was more than six
 years a member of the Supreme Council, and held, during some months of
 that time, the station of Governor-General. And that the Court most sin-
 cerely participate in the sorrow which must be felt by his relations and friends
 on this lamented event."

AFFAIRS WITH BURMA.

BOOK II

CHAP. I.

1823.

energies of the state. Hostilities were unavoidable, and the war had to be carried on under circumstances peculiarly unpromising. As in the case of the conflict with Nepal, the enemy was a semi-barbarous power, inflated with an overweening confidence in his own strength, and ignorant of the superior resources of the British Indian empire: but in Nepal, although the surface was rugged, the mountains were not unfriendly to health and life; and their contiguity to the plains brought within easy reach all the means and appliances that were essential to military movements. In Ava, the marsh and the forest, teeming with deleterious vapours, were to be traversed; and the supplies, of which the country was destitute, could be furnished only from a distant region, and for the most part, by a slow, precarious, and costly transport by sea. In Ava also, as in Nepal, but in a still greater degree, the difficulties of a campaign were inordinately enhanced, by the total absence of local knowledge, and ignorance of the inhospitable and impervious tracts through which it was attempted to march with all the array and impediments of civilised war.

The countries lying on the east and south-east of the British frontier of Bengal, from Assam to Arakan, a distance from north to south of about four hundred miles, were almost unknown at this period to European geography, having been hitherto closed against the inquiries of the Company's officers by their inherent physical difficulties, the barbarous habits of the people, the jealousy of their chiefs, and the unwillingness of the Indian government to sanction any enterprise of their servants, which might inspire doubts of their designs in the minds of the rulers of the adjacent regions. On the most northern portion of the boundary, the valley of Assam, watered by the converging branches of the Brahmaputra, was immediately contiguous to the province of Rungpore, whence it stretched for three hundred and fifty miles in a north-easterly direction to snow-clad mountains separating it from China. Along its southern limits, a country of hill and forest, tenanted by a number of wild tribes, with whom no intercourse had ever been opened, spread towards the east, and in its central portion under the designation of Kachar, was continuous on the west with the British district of

BOOK III
CHAP. I.
1823.

Sylhet, and was bounded on the east by the mountain-girdled valley of Manipur. Similar tracts, inhabited by rude uncivilised races, extended to the south, skirting the provinces of Tipera and Chittagong, until the latter was divided by an inlet of the sea, from the principality of Arakan, recently become a part of the Burma dominions. Beyond Arakan, extending southwards to Tenaserim, and northwards to Asam, the whole of the territory west of the Chinese frontier acknowledged the sovereignty of the King of Ava, who was thus, in Arakan, the immediate neighbour of the British Indian empire, and was separated from it throughout the rest of its eastern limits by petty states, and uncivilised races, too feeble to defend themselves against his power, and rapidly falling a prey to his ambition. It had long been foreseen, that the progressive approximation of the Burma dominion was calculated to lead to a collision; and circumstances early occurred, which could not fail to create mutual dissatisfaction and distrust. The tone of the Government of Ava was always of a tendency to provoke resentment rather than invite forbearance; and although it was no part of the policy of the Government of Bengal to excite the suspicion, or incur the enmity of the Court of Ava, yet some of the transactions in which it was engaged were not unlikely to arouse such feelings in a haughty and ambitious state, and one incapable of appreciating the motives by which the relations of civilised powers with their neighbours are regulated. The position of Chittagong had, in an especial manner, furnished cause for reciprocal offence and irritation.

In the year 1784, the Burmas invaded the principality of Arakan, long an independent kingdom, and when first visited by Europeans, abounding in population and affluence. The people of Arakan, although identical in origin with the Burmas, speaking the same language, and following similar institutions, had, until the period specified, formed a distinct political society, the rulers of which tracing their descent from remote periods, had at various times extended their sway over countries lying to their north-west, including Chittagong, Tipera, Dacca, and other parts of Bengal. Engaged repeatedly in hostilities with the Burmas, the affinity of race had only exacerbated

mutual antipathy, and an implacable animosity separated the two nations more effectually than the mountain barriers which interposed between them. Civil dissension at length undermined the independence of Arakan. At the invitation of a disloyal chieftain, the forces of Minderagi Prahū, the king of Ava, crossed the Yumadong mountains, defeated the troops opposed to them, took prisoner the king of Arakan, Samada, with his family, and condemned them to perpetual captivity.¹ The king shortly afterwards died; his relations were suffered to sink into obscurity, and Arakan became an integral part of the kingdom of Ava, under the authority of a viceroy.² The oppressive system of the Burma government, and the heavy exactions which they levied, soon reduced the people to extreme misery, and drove them into repeated insurrections: the severity with which these were repressed, and despair of effective resistance, were followed by the flight of vast numbers of the natives to the borders of Chittagong, where they were permitted to settle upon extensive tracts of waste land hitherto untenanted. Many became industrious and peaceable cultivators; but others, lurking in the border forests, emboldened by the certainty of a safe refuge, and instigated by proximity to their native country, to which the people of Arakan have a strong attachment availed themselves of the opportunity to harass the intrusive government, and by constant predatory incursions disturb its repose and impair its resources. As these marauders issued from the direction of the British districts, and fell back upon them on any reverse of fortune;

BOOK III.
CHAP. I,
1814-23.

¹ Sketch of Arakan, by Charles Paton, Esq. — Asiatic Researches, vol. xvi. — On the History of Arakan, by Captain Phayre, Senior Assistant Commissioner. — *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vols. x, 679, and xiii. 23. According to Captain Phayre, the people of Arakan call themselves Mymmas, which, in Burma pronunciation, is the same as Brammas, or Burmas. Their language and written characters are the same, with some varieties of articulation. The country they term Rakhain, and refer it to the Sanscrit word Rakshas, a malignant spirit. Besides the Mymmas, the population consists of various hill and forest tribes, apparently of kindred origin; also of a considerable proportion of Mohammedans and Bengalis, and of a mixed race from Myamma fathers and Bengali mothers to whom the term "Mugs" is properly restricted, although it is indiscriminately applied by the English in Bengal to the people of Arakan. The Mugs follow the faith of their fathers, a corrupt Buddhism, but their language is Bengali. Symes says, Mogo is a term of religious import, applied to the priesthood and the King, whence the inhabitants are improperly termed Mughs. — Embassy to Ava, 104. Lieut. Phayre is a better authority, but he leaves the etymology of the term "Mug" unexplained.

² Symes' Embassy to Ava, 110.

BOOK III. molest the Burma settlers in Arakan, and that no more
 CHAP. I. should be permitted to cross over into the Company's
 1823. possessions. Lord Wellesley flattered himself that these promises, and the assurances given to the envoy, would satisfy the court of Ava of the friendly disposition of the British government; but so far was this expectation from being realised, that in 1800, the demand for the restoration of the emigrants was renewed, accompanied by the threat of invasion, if not complied with. It did not suit the convenience of the Bengal government to take serious notice of the menace; and it was treated as the unauthorised impertinence of the viceroy of Arakan. A force was, however, posted on the frontier, and Colonel Symes was again sent as an envoy to Ava, to appease the indignation of the monarch. No particulars of this second mission have ever been given to the public; but it is known to have failed in effecting any of its objects. The envoy was detained three months at Mengwon, the temporary residence of the court. During this period, he was admitted to a single and disdainful audience of the king, and at the end was allowed to leave the place without any notice. No public answer was vouchsafed to a letter addressed by the Governor-General to the king; and a reply which was privately furnished, and was of questionable authenticity, took no notice of the subject of the letter which it professed to answer. The only effect of this mission was to lower the Indian government in the estimation of the Burma Court.¹

The suspicions of the Court of Ava were again aroused and invigorated by the events which took place in the same quarter in 1811: when a formidable rising of the people occurred under the guidance of Khyen-bran,² the

¹ The official despatch, announcing the result of the mission, states, that Colonel Symes received assurances of the friendly disposition of the Burma Court, on which he had succeeded in impressing the fullest confidence in the good faith and amicable views of the British Government.—*Pol. History of India*, i. 557. It is rather incompatible with this impression, that, in 1809, it was ascertained that the Burmas had for years meditated seriously the conquest of Chittagong and Dacca. The disgraceful treatment of the Embassy, we now learn, however, from another source.—*Historical Review of the Political Relations between the British Government in India and the Empire of Ava*. By G. J. Bayfield, Acting Assistant to the British Resident in Ava. Revised by the Resident Lieut.-Col. Burney. Calcutta, 1835.

² This is the Chief, usually denominated by English inaccuracy, King-bering. The name is, properly, Khyen-byan; the latter pronounced by the Burmas "bran," meaning, according to Lieutenant Phayre, Khyen-return: the boy having been born after his father's return from a visit to the mountain tribe, called Khyens.

son of the district officer, by whom the Burmas had been invited into Arakan, and who had been rewarded for his treason with the contempt and neglect which it deserved. The resentment which he consequently cherished against the Burmas was bequeathed to his son, who had been one of the emigrants to Chittagong. After a tranquil residence of some years, Khyen-bran collected a numerous band of his countrymen, and at their head burst into Arakan, the whole of which, with the exception of the capital, he speedily reduced to his authority. Arakan itself capitulated; but the terms were violated, and great disorders were committed by the victors. It was the firm conviction of the viceroy of Arakan, that this formidable aggression originated with, and was supported by, the government of Bengal; and such was the view, undoubtedly, entertained by the king and his ministers.¹ In the hope of effacing so mistaken an impression, Captain Canning, who had twice before been employed on a similar duty,² was sent to Ava to disavow all connection with the insurgents, and to assure the court of the desire of the government of Bengal to maintain undisturbed the existing amicable intercourse. He found the court, as he expected, so strongly impressed with the belief that the British government was implicated in the late revolt, that, in anticipation of hostilities, an embargo had been laid upon the British vessels at Rangoon. This was taken off by the Viceroy of Pegu, in compliance with the assurances and remonstrances of the Envoy: but the temper of the Court was less placable; and before Captain Canning had quitted Rangoon for the capital, he was apprized that the Viceroy of Arakan had entered into the Company's confines with a hostile force, and was instructed to return immediately to Bengal. On the other hand, peremptory orders were received from the Court to send

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.
1823.

¹ Papers. Burmese War. Printed for Parliament.—Despatch of Governor-General, 23rd Jan, 1812, par. 9.

² His first mission was in 1803, when he was deputed as British Agent at Rangoon; but the inimical conduct of the Viceroy curtailed his residence there to less than a twelvemonth. He was sent a second time in 1809, to explain the nature of the blockade imposed upon the trade with the Isles of France. He was treated with rather more civility than on his first visit, and was allowed to proceed to Amarapura, where he had an audience of the King. No reply was given by His Majesty to the letter from the Governor-General, with which the Envoy was charged; but one from the ministers hinted at the pretensions of Ava to Chittagong and Dacca. Nothing more satisfactory could be obtained.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

K III. not of sufficient importance to interrupt the good understanding which it was endeavoured to preserve, with the
P. I. Burma authorities of Arakan. It was evident, however,
23. that their government was not to be satisfied, except by the surrender of the captured chiefs; the demand for which was, from time to time reiterated, notwithstanding the firm, but temperate, refusal of the Governor-General to comply with the application. In 1817, a letter from the Raja of Ramri, or, as he styled himself, the Governor of the Four Provinces, Arakan, Chynda, Cheduba, and Ramri, having called upon the magistrate of Chittagong to restore the fugitives from Arakan, to their dependence upon Ava, the opportunity was taken of explaining to his superior, the Viceroy of Pegu, the principles by which the conduct of the governments of India was actuated. In the reply of the Marquis of Hastings, it was stated, that the British government could not, with a due regard to the dictates of justice, deliver up those who had sought its protection, some of whom had resided within its boundary for thirty years: no restraint was imposed upon their voluntary return, but no authority could be employed to enforce it: the necessity of such a measure was now less manifest than ever, as the troubles which had existed, had, through the vigilance and perseverance of the British officers, been suppressed, and the tranquil habits of the settlers had rendered their recurrence extremely improbable. No notice was taken of this letter, but that it had failed to appease the haughty spirit of the Court, was soon evidenced by the receipt of a second despatch from the same functionary, in which he insisted upon the restitution of Ramoo, Chittagong, Murshedabad, and Dacca. This claim was seriously put forth. It has been mentioned, that some of the kings of Arakan had, at remote periods, exercised temporary dominion over portions of Bengal; and the monarch of Ava, having succeeded to their sovereignty, considered himself entitled to the whole of the territories which had acknowledged their sway. To give the weight of intimidation to these pretensions, the recent conquests of Ava, in Asam, Manipur, and Kachar, were pompously exaggerated. The letter was sent back to the Viceroy of Pegu, with an expression of the belief of the Governor-General, that it was an unau-

DISTURBED STATE OF ASAM.

thorised act of the Raja of Ramri, and of his conviction, BOOK I
that if it could be supposed to emanate from the King of CHAP. I
Ava, it would justify the Bengal government in regarding
it as a declaration of war. The Marquis of Hastings was,
however, too much occupied in Central India, at this time,
to bestow any serious attention upon the arrogant preten- 1823.
sions of a barbarous court; and the brilliant successes of
the Pindari campaign, which were known, although imper-
fectly, at Amarapura, contributed to deter the Burma
ministers from repeating their demands. The accession of
a new sovereign in the place of Minderaji Prahū in 1819,
and the active interposition of his successor in the affairs
of the countries to the northward, and especially in Mani-
pur and Asam, deterred the Burmas apparently from re-
iterating their claims, although they rather favoured than
discountenanced their project of eventual collision with
the government of Bengal.

The rich valley of Asam had long been the scene of
internal dissension, the inevitable consequence of the par-
tition of authority among a number of petty chiefs, each
of whom claimed, as his hereditary right, a voice in the
nomination of the Raja, and a share in the administration.
Originally a Hindu principality, Asam had been subju-
gated in the 13th century by princes of the Shan race, and
they had requited the services of their chief adherents,
by dividing with them the functions of the government.
Three principal ministers, termed Gohains, formed a
council, without whose concurrence the Raja could issue
no commands, nor was he legally enthroned until they
had assented to his elevation. The Raja had the power of
dismissing either of these individuals, but only in favour
of some person of the same family. Officers of inferior
rank, but equally claiming by title of inheritance, termed
Phokans and Barwas, exercised various degrees of author-
ity. The most important of them, styled the Bor Phokan,
was the governor of an extensive portion of Central Asam.
The encroachments of these dignitaries on the ill-defined
authority of the Raja, and his endeavours to free himself
from their control, generated a perpetual succession of
domestic intrigues, which were not unfrequently fatal to
all who were concerned in them.

In 1809, a conspiracy was set on foot by the Raja,
VOL. III.

BOOK III. Chandra Kanta, to get rid of the Boora Gohain, an able but imperious minister, who had for some time engrossed all the authority of the state, removing all who stood in his way or thwarted his views, by putting them to death, either publicly or by assassination. The Gohain detected the plot, and the Bor Phokan, being one of the chief conspirators, was obliged to fly. He repaired to Calcutta, and solicited the government to rescue his master from his humiliating and dangerous position. As all interference was declined, he next had recourse to the Burmas, and met with better success, as they sent him back to Asam with a force of six thousand men. The Boora Gohain had died before their arrival, and Chandra Kanta, no longer in need of foreign support against his too-powerful minister, dismissed his allies, with valuable presents; amongst which was a princess of the royal family for his majesty of Ava. The zeal of the Bor Phokan met with an ungrateful return: the Raja was induced, by the intrigues of another member of the supreme council, the Bor Gohain, and the chief secretary or Bor Barwa, to put him to death. His relations fled to Ava. In the meantime, the son of the late Boora Gohain, inheriting his father's ambition and enmity to the Raja, drew from obscurity a prince of the ruling dynasty, Purandhar Sing, and had influence enough to raise him to the throne. Chandra Kanta was deposed and taken prisoner; but Purandhar Sing was contented with ordering his right ear to be slit, any mutilation being regarded as a flaw in the title of the sovereign of Asam, who had long arrogated the designation of Swarga Raja, or King of Heaven; and was, consequently, supposed to be exempt from any terrestrial imperfections. Chandra Kanta made his escape, and fled to the confines of Bhutan.

Upon receiving intelligence of the murder of the Bor Phokan, a Burma army was again despatched to Asam. They were encountered by Purandhar Sing, but defeated him; and, ascribing the death of the Phokan less to Chandra Kanta than to his advisers, they put to death the Bor Barwa, whom they had captured, and reinstated the Raja. They then departed, leaving a detachment under a general of celebrity, Mengyee Maha Thilwa, for the defence of Asam. Purandhar Sing, and the Boora Gohain, fled

into Bhutan, where they busied themselves in collecting men and arms, and harassing by frequent incursions the Burma invaders. BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

1823.

The union between Chandra Kanta and his allies was of short continuance: alarmed for his life, he withdrew to the western extremity of the valley contiguous to the Company's territories, and assembled around him a considerable body of retainers. In 1821, he had obtained some advantages over the Burmas, and recovered part of his dominions, when a general, afterwards also well-known to the English, Mengyee Maha Bandooda, arrived with reinforcements. Chandra Kanta, unable to make head against him, was forced to fly, and the Burmas took possession of Asam, declaring it as a future dependency of Ava. Their proximity in this quarter was by no means desirable, although they refrained from any act of avowed hostility. The defenceless state of the frontier exposed the inhabitants of Rungpore to the unauthorized depredations of straggling parties, who plundered and burnt the villages, and carried off the villagers as slaves. Strong remonstrances were addressed to the Burma authorities, by whom the intention of permitting such outrages was disclaimed; but little pains were taken to prevent their repetition—the perpetrators were unpunished, and no compensation was made to the sufferers. On their part, the Burma officers warned the British functionaries against giving shelter or assistance to any of the fugitives from Asam, and declared their determination to pursue them, if necessary, into the Company's districts. Measures were taken to counteract the threatened pursuit; and a sufficient force was placed at the disposal of the Commissioner on the north-east frontier, Mr. Scott, to protect the boundary from invasion.¹

The mountainous regions, extending southwards from Asam to the British district of Sylhet, were occupied in a successive series from the west by the Garos, a barbarous race, subject to no paramount authority; by the Kasiyas, also a wild and uncivilised race, but acknowledging the authority of their chiefs; and by a petty principality, that of Jyntia, governed by a Raja. From the latter, an exten-

¹ Buchanan's (Hamilton) Account of Asam.—Annals of Oriental Literature—Robinson's Asam.—Documents, Burmese War, 5.

BOOK III. sive though thinly peopled country, of the same character
 CHAP. I. as the preceding, consisting of hill and forest intersected
 1823. by numerous small rivers, feeders of the Brahmaputra, and
 occupied by races more mixed and rather more civilised
 than their neighbours, constituted the principality of
 Kachar, spreading round Sylhet, on its northern and east-
 ern confines. Beyond Kachar, and further to the north
 and north-east, lay wild tracts of uncultivated wilderness,
 tenanted by a number of barbarous tribes known collec-
 tively as Nagas; while on the east, the petty chiefship of
 Manipur separated Kachar from the Burma dominions.
 In the beginning of the eighteenth century, Manipur was
 a state holding a prominent place among these semi-
 civilised communities, and was able to send into the field
 an army of twenty thousand men. Under a prince, who
 rather unaccountably bore the Mohammedan designation
 of Gharib-nawaz, Manipur engaged in a successful war with
 Ava, overran the Burma territory and planted its victorious
 standards on the walls of the capital. The murder of the
 Raja by his son, and the family dissensions which followed,
 exhausted the energies of Manipur; and the country was
 shortly afterwards invaded by the Burmas, under one of
 their most celebrated sovereigns, Alompra, by whom that
 career of conquest was commenced, which ended in the
 annexation of Pegu, Arakan, the Shan districts, Manipur,
 and Asam, to the dominions of Ava. In their distress,
 the Manipur chiefs had recourse for protection to the
 government of Bengal; and their application was favour-
 ably listened to. In 1762, a treaty of alliance offensive
 and defensive was concluded between the Raja of Manipur
 and Mr. Verelst, then Governor of Bengal, in virtue of
 which a small detachment marched from Chittagong, with
 the declared design not only of enabling the Raja to expel
 the Burmas from his principality, but of subduing the
 whole of the Burma country. Six companies of Sipahis
 were then thought sufficient for so ambitious an enter-
 prise. The advance of the division was retarded by heavy
 rains; and, when it reached Kaspur, the capital of Kachar,
 was enfeebled by sickness induced by the unhealthiness
 of the climate. It was recalled. An attempt was made in
 the following year to renew the negotiation; but the
 government of Bengal, now better informed regarding the

difficulties of the undertaking, and the little benefit to be derived even from success, declined the alliance. No further intercourse took place. The last Raja, Jay Sing, who retained any power in Manipur, after many disastrous conflicts with his enemies, was suffered to rule in peace over a country almost depopulated and laid waste. Upon his death, in 1799, Manipur was torn to pieces by the contentions of his numerous sons, of whom the greater part, perished in their struggle for the ascendancy, leaving three only alive, Chorjit, Marjit, and Gambhir Sing. The first of these made himself Raja in 1806, but was expelled in 1812 by the second, with the assistance of a Burma force. Chorjit fled into Kachar, where he was hospitably received by the Raja, Govind Chandra, and, in requital of his hospitality, succeeded with the aid of Gambhir Sing, in wresting from his host the greater portion of Kachar. Marjit, after ruling over Manipur for six years, incurred the displeasure of the King of Ava, and was obliged to retire into Kachar, where he found an asylum with his brothers. Consistently with the treacherous character of his race, he soon conspired against Chorjit, and being joined by Gambhir Sing, the two younger brothers dispossessed the elder of his ill-gotten territory, and compelled him once more to become a fugitive. He retired to Sylhet, whither the legitimate ruler of Kachar, Govind Chandra, had previously sought protection and assistance, engaging, if replaced in his principality, to hold it of the British government, under the tenure of allegiance. The offer was refused; and Govind Chandra, through the Raja of Asam, applied to Ava for that succour which the government of India refused to afford him. After some time, the Court of Ava acceded to his propositions; and an army was ordered to move from Manipur into Kachar, to expel or make captives the Manipuri brothers, and replace Govind Chandra in possession of Kachar, on condition of fealty to the Burma monarch. The Government of India now conceived alarm, and deemed it expedient to prevent the near proximity of the Burmas to the Sylhet frontier, by taking Kachar under its own protection. Overtures were addressed in the first instance to the Manipuri chiefs, the two elder of whom were ready to accede to any stipulations; but Gambhir Sing, under a mistaken estimate of

BOOK III. his ability to resist the Burmas, hesitated to accept the
 CHAP. I. proffered assistance upon the terms proposed. It was
 1823. consequently resolved to recur to the legitimate Raja; and Govind Chandra, notwithstanding his pending negotiations with the Burmas and his having an agent in their camp readily broke off the treaty, and concluded an engagement with the government of Bengal. The Manipuri chiefs were conciliated by pensions; and Marjit and Gambhir Sing, the latter of whom had discovered his error, were placed in command of detachments of irregular troops, formed principally of their followers and fugitives from Manipur. When the Burma force entered the province, under the impression that they were the allies of its ruler, they were informed that Kachar was already restored to its rightful possessor, and that he was under the protection of the British power. The Burma leaders felt that they had been anticipated; but they expressed no disappointment, as they had only come, they declared, for the same purpose, of restoring Govind Chandra to his authority; but they demanded that the Manipuri brothers should be given up to them; and they called upon the Raja of Jyntia, to acknowledge the supremacy of the king of Ava. As this chief was regarded as a feudatory of Bengal, the call was repudiated; and the Burma officers were informed, that if they attempted to advance into Kachar they would be forcibly opposed. The threat was disregarded, and towards the close of 1823, a Burma force having taken up a position threatening the Sylhet frontier, it was attacked, and actual hostilities were begun, as we shall have further occasion to describe.¹ In the mean time, it will be convenient to revert to the more recent occurrences on the confines of Chittagong.

The vigilance of the local authorities, and the want of any popular leader, had deterred the emigrants from Arakan, who were settled in the Company's territories, from offering any molestation to their neighbours. Their forbearance had not inspired a similar spirit; and a series of petty and irritating outrages were committed by the

¹ Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India, by Capt. R. Boileau Pemberton.—History of Manipur and Kachar.—Documents, Burmese War, App.—Memoir of the Countries on and near the Eastern Frontier of Sylhet, by Lieut. Fisher.

Burmas upon the subjects of the British Government, which could have been perpetrated only with the cognisance of the officers of Ava, and the sole apparent object of which was to provoke reciprocity of violence. Repeated attacks were made upon the elephant hunters in the public service ; and the people were killed, or carried off and sold as slaves, although following their avocation within the British boundaries. A claim was set up to the possession of a small island at the mouth of the Naf, which had for many years been in the undisputed occupation of the British : tolls were levied upon boats belonging to Chittagong, and, on one occasion, the demand being resisted, the Burmas fired upon the party, and killed the steersman. This act of violence was followed by the assemblage of armed men on the eastern side of the Naf ; and universal consternation pervaded the villages in this, the most remote and unprotected portion of the Chittagong district.

The Naf, which constituted the boundary between Chittagong and Arakan, presents, like other rivers on this coast, the character of an inlet of the sea, rather than of a river, rising but a short distance inland, and being an inconsiderable stream, until it approaches the coast, when it expands into an estuary, a mile broad, at the place where it is usually crossed. Lying off this expanse, close to the Chittagong side, and separated from it only by a narrow channel which was fordable at low water, was situated the island of Shahpuri, a spot of limited extent and little value, but which, by its local position and the prescription of many years, was undoubtedly an integral part of the British province of Chittagong. Upon this islet, and at Tek Naf, on the adjacent main land, a guard of irregulars was posted, to protect the boats of the Company's subjects from a repetition of the aggression which had been perpetrated. This guard gave great offence to the Burma functionaries ; and the head man of Mangdoo, on the Arakan side of the Naf, insisted on its immediate removal, as, if its presence should be made known to the king, it would inevitably occasion a war. Reference was made to his superior, the Viceroy of Arakan, who reiterated the claim to the island as part of the Burma territory, and declared, that if not at once admitted, he should esta-

of Pegu, which at one time threatened the extinction of its rival; the easy conquest of Arakan, and the subjugation of Manipur and Asam, had inflated the arrogance of the whole nation, and had persuaded them that they were irresistible. The ministers of the state were entirely ignorant of the power and incredulous of the resources of British India; and, although they could not be unaware of the extent of the British possessions, yet, looking upon the natives of India with extreme contempt, they inferred that their subjugation by the English merely proved that the latter were superior to a dastardly and effeminate race, not that they were equal to cope with Burma strength and courage. In fine, they felt assured, that it was reserved for them to rescue Asia from the disgrace of a stranger-yoke, and to drive back the foreigners to the remote island, from which it was understood that they had come.¹

The occupation of Shahpuri by a military force, had the effect of arresting for a time the hostile demonstrations of the Burmas on the Chittagong frontier; but an actual contest had commenced, as above noticed, on the borders

¹ The pretensions of Ava to the territories claimed in Bengal were of old date, and were repeatedly urged on Capt. Cox, when at Amarapura, in 1797. At the same time, the Burma ministers expressed their opinion of the facility of recovering them, asserting that 3000 men would be sufficient for the purpose.—Cox's Burman Empire, pp. 300, 302, 304. Of the sentiments latterly entertained, authentic information was obtained not only from the official declarations of the public officers, but from the evidence of various Europeans, merchants, and missionaries, settled at Amarapura, and, before the war, admitted to the intimacy of the leading persons of the Court. Thus, it is stated by Mr. Laird: "From the King to the beggar, the Burmans were hot for a war with the English." And he mentions having been present at a levee after Maha Bandoola's return from Asam, when he reported his having refrained from following the fugitive Asamese into the British territory, only because they were on terms of amity with his Government, and paid a revenue by their trade with Rangoon; but that if his sovereign wished for Bengal, he would engage to conquer it for him with no other troops than the strangers dependent upon Ava. Dr. Judson, an American missionary, who had resided ten years in the country, and was well acquainted with the language, states, that on his first visit to the capital, he heard the desire to go to war with the English, universally expressed by the principal persons of the administration and especially by the members of the royal family. Their language is thus repeated by him: "The English are the inhabitants of a small and remote island. What business have they to come in ships from so great a distance, to dethrone kings, and take possession of countries they have no right to? They contrive to conquer and govern the black foreigners, the people of castes, who have puny frames, and no courage. They have never yet fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmas, skilled in the use of the sword and spear. If they once fight with us, and we have an opportunity of manifesting our bravery, it will be an example to the black nations, which are now slaves to the English, and will encourage them to throw off the yoke." A prediction was also current, that the heir apparent, a boy of about eleven years of age, when arrived at manhood, should rule over the country of the strangers.—Documents, Burmese War, 223, 229.

BOOK III. or oblong enclosures, varying in area according to the force
CHAP. I. which held them, and were sometimes of very spacious
1824. extent. The defences also varied according to the means
at hand, and the time allowed for their construction; and
sometimes consisted of solid beams of teak timber pre-
viously prepared, or sometimes of green bamboos and
young trees cut down from the forest, which was every-
where at hand. They were planted close together in the
ground, and bound together at the top by transverse
beams, leaving embrasures and loop-holes through which
the defenders might fire on the assailants without being
exposed. The height varied from ten or twelve to seven-
teen and twenty feet; and platforms were fixed in the
interior, or the earth was thrown up into an embankment,
from which the garrison might overtop the paling, and on
which gingals or guns of small calibre, carrying a ball of
six or twelve ounces, might be planted. Occasionally, an
outer and an inner ditch added to the defences, and out-
works of minor stockades, or abattis of the trunks of trees
and bamboo spikes, enhanced the difficulty of access to
the main body of the structure. The nature of the
materials, especially when consisting of green timber or
trees recently lopped, enabled them to resist the effects of
a cannonade better than more solid substances, although
the balls did pass between them, and sometimes tear them
asunder. Shells and rockets were the most effective
means of annoyance: but they were not used at first to
an adequate extent, and reliance was principally placed on
the physical strength and resolute daring of the soldier,
who, with or without the aid of ladders, was expected to
force an entrance. The European seldom disappointed
this expectation: the Sipahi, unsupported, never realised
it; and the former was, on more than one occasion, re-
pulsed with very serious loss of life. Once within the
palisade, the stockade was carried, for the Burma garrison
then thought only of flight; in effecting which, through
the one or two gateways left in the enclosure, they
generally suffered severely. Their courage also some-
times failed them before waiting for an assault, especially
as the war was prolonged, and the repeated destruction of
their entrenchments diminished their confidence in their
efficacy. Stockades which could not have been forced

without difficulty were found abandoned, and their inade- BOOK III.
quacy to arrest the march of a European army, was CHAP. I.
recognised by those to whom they had originally afforded
assurance of security. 1824.

While actual hostilities were thus commenced in the north, indications of their near occurrence were manifested in the south. The Raja of Arakan was ordered to expel the English at any cost from Shahpuri; and the most renowned of the Burma generals, Maha Bandoola, was sent to take the command of the forces assembled in the province. A body of troops was assembled at Mangdoo, from whence commissioners, who had been deputed from Ava, proceeded to take formal possession of the disputed island, which had been abandoned for a time by the British, on account of the unhealthiness of the post. The Burma Commissioners also contrived, under pretext of negotiation, to seize the person of the commander of a pilot schooner which had been stationed off Shahpuri, who somewhat incautiously trusted himself among the Burmas. No personal injury was inflicted; and, after a detention of some weeks, he was set at liberty, with such of his crew as had attended him on shore; his apprehension being intended to compel the removal of his vessel. The spirit of these measures, and the certain knowledge that hostile armies were preparing to assail various parts of the frontier, left the Governor-General no alternative: war was inevitable: and, agreeably to the usage of civilised nations, the grounds on which it was declared by the British Government were made known in a proclamation addressed to the different states and powers of India.¹ Its promulgation was followed by a letter from the Viceroy of Pegu, replying to the declaration addressed to the Court of Ava, in the previous November, repeating the claim to

¹ See Appendix No. 1. For the following narrative of the occurrences of the war, the principal authorities are the official despatches, and other public papers, collected and published under the authority of the Government of Bengal by the author.—Documents illustrative of the Burmese War. Calcutta, 1827. For the operations in Ava, we have also the relations of different officers who were present, and employed in stations which gave them the means of obtaining accurate information; namely—Two Years in Ava, by Lieutenant Trant, of the Quarter-Master General's Department.—Narrative of the Burmese War, by Major Snodgrass, Military Secretary to the Commander of the Expedition; and Memoir of the three Campaigns in Ava, by Lieutenant Havelock, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General. For the operations in other quarters, we have incidental notices in Crawford's Mission to Ava, and in Lieutenant Pemberton's Memoir of the Frontier, and various papers in the Monthly Asiatic Journal.

BOOK III. the local government, under the direction of Sir Thomas
 CHAP. I. Munro; and a formidable force, both European and

1824.

Native, was assembled at Madras, in the course of February, consisting of two King's Regiments, the 41st and 89th the Madras European Regiment, and seven Native Regiments, with detachments of Pioneers and Artillery. The Bengal and Madras divisions, comprising collectively above eleven thousand men, of whom one-half were Europeans, were placed under the chief command of Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell: the Madras force was commanded by Colonel Macbean, and the Bengal by Colonel M'Creagh: all three officers had served with distinction in the Spanish campaign, under the Duke of Wellington. The transports were convoyed by His Majesty's sloops of war, the *Larne* and *Sophia*, with several of the Company's cruisers: a flotilla of twenty gun-brigs, and as many war-boats, each carrying a piece of heavy ordnance, accompanied the expedition; and the *Diana*, a small steam-vessel, first presented to the barbarous races on the east of the Bay of Bengal, the mysterious working of a navigable power making head against winds and waves, without sails or oars, and impelled by an unseen and incomprehensible agency, which the superstition of the natives ascribed to something more than human art. Captain Canning was appointed to accompany the force as Political Agent and Joint Commissioner with the Commander-in-chief.

The Bengal expedition, and the first division of the Madras force, met at the end of April, at the appointed place of rendezvous, the spacious and picturesque harbour of Port Cornwallis, situated in the largest of the Andaman islands, a little to the south of the mouth of the Irawadi. The fleet was here joined by the *Liffey* frigate, with Commodore Grant on board, who, as chief naval officer in the Indian seas, took the command. On the 5th of May, the fleet resumed its progress, and arrived on the 9th off the Rangoon river. On the following day, the ships crossed the bar, and working up the stream with the flood-tide, anchored opposite to Rangoon on the morning of the 11th. No opposition was experienced on the passage. No preparations for defence had been made. No attack in this quarter had been anticipated; and the appearance of the hostile squadron filled the Burmas with equal astonishment and alarm.

The Irawadi, after a course of about nine hundred miles from its source on the southern face of the mountains forming the south-eastern boundary of Asam, divides, like the Ganges, as it approaches the sea, into a number of anastomosing branches, forming an intricate net-work of channels of varying breadth and depth, and constituting a delta, of which the Bassein river, or branch, may be regarded as the western limit, and the Rangoon river, communicating with the river of Pegu, as the eastern boundary. The town of Rangoon stands near the apex of a fork, between two branches of the Irawadi, one running for a short distance to the west, before it turns off to the north, the other to the east. The former is considered to be more especially the river of Rangoon, which is here about eight hundred yards wide. The other, which is smaller, is the river of Syriam, a city of Pegu, formerly a place of commercial activity, and the site of a Portuguese factory: Rangoon had risen to prosperity upon its decline. Opposite to Rangoon, on the right bank of the river, was situated Dalla, a town of some extent. Rangoon itself stood upon the left, or northern bank. Its defences were contemptible. A quadrangular stockade of teak timbers, about twelve feet high, enclosed the whole of the town, protected on one face by the river, and on the other three sides by a shallow creek leading from the river, and expanding at the north-western angle, into a morass, which was crossed by a bridge. Each face of the stockade was provided with gates; and, exteriorly to the river-gate, was a landing place or wharf, on which the principal battery of twelve guns of different calibres was mounted. As soon as the Liffey, leading the fleet, had cast anchor off the wharf, the Burmas opened a fire, which a few shots from the frigate effectually silenced, dismounting the whole of the guns, and putting the gunners to flight. The troops were immediately disembarked: their landing was unopposed, and they took possession of Rangoon without seeing an enemy. A message had been received from the Rewoon or Governor, demanding to know what the English wanted, and threatening to put to death such Europeans as were in his hands, unless the firing ceased. It was brought by an American missionary; but before the messenger could return, the Rewoon with his subordinates had disappeared,

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.
1824.

BOOK III. carrying along with him his European and American
 CHAP. I. captives, individuals who had settled at Rangoon for
 religious or commercial objects.¹ They were kept in confinement, and repeatedly menaced with instant death; but in the alarm and hurry which prevailed, were finally left behind, and were found and set at liberty by their countrymen. They constituted the sole population of Rangoon as the general panic and the rigorous measures of the authorities had completely cleared the town of its native inhabitants.

As soon as intelligence was received at Rangoon of the appearance of the British vessels off the mouth of the river, the Barma functionaries, aware of their inability to attempt resistance, adopted at once the policy most fitting in their condition, and admirably calculated to baffle, if not ultimately to foil, the objects of the invasion. The whole population of Rangoon were commanded to abandon their homes, and seek refuge in the adjacent forests. The command was strictly enforced; but it was obeyed without reluctance. The people had little to lose in abandoning their bamboo huts; and they entertained an excessive dread of the ferocity of Europeans. They felt also implicit confidence in the irresistible power of their Government, and looked forward to the speedy expulsion of the intruders, and their triumphant return to their habitations. That they were influenced by such feelings and that their expatriation was not wholly compulsory, was evident from the prolongation of their absence, and the tardiness and hesitation with which they re-peopled the place when it was in the occupation of the British, and when there was no native authority on the spot to punish them for submission to an enemy. The British were thus the masters of a deserted town; and all the advantages expected from a productive country, and numerous population, abundance of supplies, and means of ascending the river, were wholly deficient. The hopelessness of an advance into the interior was at once apparent; and it was obvious, that, in the approaching rainy season, when the country would become impassable, the operations of the campaign must be limited to the immediate

¹ Lieutenant Havelock specifies them as eight British traders and pilots, two missionaries, and an Armenian and a Greek.

vicinity of Rangoon. It was discovered, in short, that a serious error had been committed; and that, however judicious might be the plan of attacking the empire of Ava by the sea, the time had been ill-chosen, and the scheme of operations injudiciously devised. The exposure of so large a body of troops to the tropical rains in incommodious and imperfectly covered boats, through a navigation of five hundred miles, with both banks of the river in the possession of the enemy, could only have ended in the disorganisation and destruction of the force, even if such a mode of attempting an offensive movement had been possible. Its practicability under any circumstances might well be doubted; but as events had turned out, there was no room for uncertainty. As neither boats nor boatmen were to be procured, an advance by water was impracticable, and in the like want of land carriage, as well as in the inundated state of the country, the army was incapable of undertaking any protracted march by land. It was evident, therefore, that all that could be done, was to place the troops under cover until the ensuing cold season, and to collect with the least possible delay, the provisions and supplies, of which Rangoon was totally destitute, and which were only to be obtained from the distant settlements of Calcutta and Madras.

The stockade surrounding Rangoon, however inadequate as a defence against European artillery, was a sufficient protection against any attacks of the Burmas; and the head-quarters and general staff, with the stores and ammunition, were therefore located in the most commodious and secure of the dwellings, which were mostly constructed of mats and timber. At a distance of about two miles to the north of Rangoon, rose the imposing temple of Shwe-da-gon, the Golden Pagoda, a Buddhist shrine of great size, and highly reputed sanctity, constructed on the same plan as the Buddhist temples in other parts of India, but of more than ordinary dimensions and splendour. That part of it, which was in a more especial degree the sacred portion of the edifice, being supposed to enshrine various precious reliques of the Buddhist saints,¹ was a gradually

¹ Underneath this mass are said to be deposited relics of the four last Buddhas, the staff of Krakuchhanda, the water-pot of Gunaguna, the bathing-robe of Kasyapa, and eight hairs from the head of Gautama, or Sakyasinha.—Translation of the Inscription on the Great Bell at Shwe-da-gon, by the Rev. Mr. Hough.—*Asiatic Researches*, xvi. 270.

BOOK III. diminishing cone rising from an octagonal base to the
 CHAP. I. height of above 300 feet, and terminating in a spire sur-
 1824. mounted by a Tee or umbrella of open iron-work, from
 which sprang a slender shaft, with a gilded pennant. The
 building was solid and of brick-work, but coated through-
 out with gilding, and decorated with ornamented mould-
 ings and miniature multiples of itself. It stood upon the
 summit of an artificial mound, about thirty feet high,¹
 divided into two quadrangular terraces, supported by
 walls, and ascended on either front by stone steps. The
 upper terrace was nine hundred feet long by six hundred
 and eighty-five broad; and both the terraces and the sides
 of the steps were covered with a multitude of small struc-
 tures, chapels and shrines and cells of the priests, and
 sheds for pilgrims, and grotesque figures, and ornamental
 columns, and large brass bells: all, except the latter,
 made of wood, elaborately carved, and richly painted or
 gilt. The priests had departed with their flocks, and the
 site of Shwe-da-gon formed an important military out-
 work, in which His Majesty's 69th Regiment and the
 Madras Artillery were posted. Two roads leading from
 the northern gateways connected Rangoon with the
 Pagoda: the sides of the roads were lined by a number
 of small temples and houses, the residences of Pungis or
 Buddhist priests, affording convenient cantonments for
 the troops, as they were deserted by their owners. Ac-
 cordingly, along the most northerly of the two which
 ran over the summit of a line of low elevations, quarters
 were found for the Bengal division, their left resting upon
 the great Pagoda, their right upon Rangoon. Upon the
 more southern road, which was a uniform level, were
 ranged the cantonments of the Madras brigade, facing
 towards the river; and, consequently, having their right
 supported by the Pagoda, their left by the town. In front
 of both lines, extended interminable thickets, interrupted
 occasionally by swamps, which in the rains were swollen

¹ This is the height given by Colonel Symes. There are some singular dis-
 crepancies in this elevation; Captain Snodgrass stating it to be 76 feet above
 the road; and Lieutenant Trant, 200 above the river; and the lowest number
 of the steps, according to Mr. Hough, is 80, which cannot give much less than
 70 feet: these may, perhaps, be reconcilable. Lieutenant Havelock differs
 from the rest also as to the height of the central building, which he reduces to
 130 feet; but this must be a typographical error, as every other authority
 makes it above 300.

into deep and unfordable ponds and lakes. A dense forest coming close to the foot of the elevation on which it stood, intervened between the Great Pagoda and the river. Low elevations, covered with thickets and intermixed with morasses, extended round it in other directions. The whole face of the country was most unpropitious to the evolutions of disciplined troops. While these dispositions were in progress, detachments were sent out to explore the neighbourhood, discover and beat up the enemy's posts, and endeavour to bring back the fugitive population. Parties were also sent in the men-of-war's boats up the river, to reconnoitre any defences the Burmas might have constructed, and destroy any armed boats or fire-rafts they might meet with. In one of these latter excursions, the boats of the Liffey, with the Grenadier Company of the 38th, came upon an unfinished stockade at the village of Kemendine, about sixty miles from Rangoon, which they attacked and stormed, notwithstanding it was defended by a greatly superior number of the enemy who behaved with spirit; and success was not attained without loss. A stronger detachment commanded by General Macbean marched on the same day into the interior, and fell in with the Governor of Rangoon. The Burmas fled into the thickets; and no traces of population could be detected. Although no enemy appeared in force, yet indications were manifest of his accumulating numbers and increasing audacity; and it was evident, that the approaching season would not be passed in inactivity, although it would not admit of offensive movements of importance. The rains set in with great violence in the middle of May; and the vicinity of Rangoon was quickly overspread by extensive inundations.

BOOK III.
CHAP. I.

1824.

CHAPTER II.

Operations against the Burmas,—in Asam,—in Kachar,—at Chittagong.—Detachment posted at Ramoo.—Burmas cross the Frontier in great Force.—Inferiority of the British,—attacked by the Enemy.—Misconduct of the Irregulars,—Retreat and Flight of the Sipahis.—Great

Alarm at Chittagong and Calcutta. — Inactivity of the Burmas. — Subsidence of the Panic. — Negrais and Cheduba reduced. — The British Lines at Rangoon harassed by the Burmas, — Detachment sent against them, — unfavourable State of the Country. — Burma Force encountered. — Stockades stormed. — Attack on Stockade at Kemendine. — Repulsed. — Burma Messengers, — Object to gain Time. — Troops sent against Kemendine, — Entrenchment on the Way carried by Storm, — Great Slaughter. — Kemendine evacuated by the Enemy, — occupied permanently by the British. — Sickness of the Troops, — Unhealthiness of the Season, — Deficiency and Unwholesomeness of Food, — Mortality. — Re-appearance of the Burmas, — Defeat of Part of their Force, — Affair at Dalla. — Stockades at the Confluence of the Rangoon and Lyne Rivers, — attacked by the Flotilla with Troops on board, and stormed. — Land Column attack Stockades at Kamrut, — seven Stockades, two principal stormed, the Rest abandoned. — Burma Commander among the killed. — Country inundated, — Expeditions by Water, — against Syriam, — Dalla, — and by Sea against Tavoy, — Mergui Ye, — and Martaban. — Attempt to recover the Shwe-dagon by the "Invulnerables," — War-boats captured. — Stockades on the River Bank destroyed. — Madras Troops sent against Kyklu, — repulsed with Loss. — A second Detachment sent against the Place, — found abandoned. — Entrenchments at Thantabain on the Lyne River, taken and destroyed. — Force enfeebled by Sickness. — Approach of Maha Bandoola with Sixty Thousand Men. — British Force surrounded. — Burmas suffered to advance: their Left attacked and defeated, — repulsed at Kemendine, — their Right attacked and routed. — Grand Army dispersed, — Rally at Kokien. — Attempts to burn Rangoon, — baffled. — Entrenchments at Kokien attacked and stormed. — Successes of the Flotilla. — Bandoola retreats to Donabew, — altered Objects of the Campaign on the Part of the Burmas.

WHILE the principal manifestation of the British power was directed against Rangoon, the expulsion of the Burmas from the frontier countries which they had invaded, was attempted with but partial success. A force col-

lected in Asam, under Brigadier-General Mc Morine,¹ moved from Goalpara, on the 13th of March; and advanced to Gohati, where the Burmas had thrown up stockades, but abandoned them on the approach of the force. The people of the country, who had been treated by the Burmas with the most unsparing cruelty, cordially welcomed the arrival of their deliverers; but their unwarlike character and miserable condition, rendered their co-operation of little value; and the great difficulty of procuring supplies, as well as the labour of traversing a country devoid of roads, overrun with jungle, and broken up by swamps and water-courses, compelled the Brigadier to suspend his advance, sending forward a detachment of five companies of the 46th Native Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Richards, to meet the Commissioner, who had arrived at Noagong, from Sylhet, across the Jyntia hills. Reinforced by Mr. Scott's escort, Colonel Richards moved on to Kaliabar, and compelled the Burmas to continue their retreat in an easterly direction to Maura Mukh. There the Governor of Asam with a force of not more than a thousand men had stockaded himself; but Colonel Richards, who, in consequence of the death of Brigadier Mc Morine, had succeeded to the chief command, was unable for want of supplies to follow up his advantage. He returned, therefore, to Gohati; and as the rainy season set in, no further movement of any importance, on either side, was practicable. The expulsion of the Burmas from Upper Asam was consequently deferred.

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.
1824.

The Burmas, as we have seen, had withdrawn from Kachar in the beginning of the year; but it was only to return in greater force. In the beginning of June, they repeated their incursions from Manipur, eight thousand strong, and they gave out that they formed only the van of a more formidable armament. They advanced to the heights of Talain, Dudhpatli, and Jatrapur, and stockaded themselves in their former positions. The weak division of native troops, which had been left at Sylhet, under Lieut.-Colonel Innes, advanced on the 27th June against the Burma stockade, at Talain, on the bank of the Barak

¹ It consisted of seven companies of the 46th N. I., and six of the Rungpore Local Corps, the Dinapore Local battalion, a wing of the Champaran Local Corps, three brigades of six pounders, and a small body of Irregular Horse, besides a gun-boat flotilla on the Brahmaputra.

BOOK III. river. An attempt was made to dislodge the enemy ; but
 CHAP. II. their superior numbers and the strength of the position
 1824. rendered it unsuccessful. The division retreated to Bhadrapur ; and as the increasing inclemency of the weather suspended all operations, the Burmas retained their occupation of Kachar.

The troops assembled for the protection of the south-eastern frontier were concentrated at Chittagong, under Colonel Shapland,¹ and a detachment was thrown forward to Ramoo, under the command of Captain Noton, consisting of five Companies of the 45th Native Infantry, with two guns, and details from the Mug levy and Chittagong Provincial battalion. Neither the numerical strength of the detachment, nor the quality of the troops, fitted it for so exposed a position, of the extreme peril of which, the authorities in Bengal seem to have been ill-informed. In like manner, as the Government of Bengal had directed its principal blow against what it deemed the most vulnerable point of the Burma dominions, the Court of Ava had, with great judgment, directed its main effort against the most feebly defended and easily accessible part of the British frontier. A force of more than ten thousand men was ordered to move through Arakan upon Chittagong, and the command was given to Maha Bandoola. The assemblage of this large body under a general who was known to have been a strenuous advocate of the war, and bore a high reputation for courage and enterprise, was well known both in Chittagong and Calcutta : but the strength of the force and the character of the leader were strangely undervalued ; and it was believed, that the weak division at Chittagong was sufficient not only for the defence of the province, but even for the subjugation of Arakan. This misappreciation of the danger which impended over the frontier, could only be explained by a mistaken estimate of the inefficiency of the Burma equipment, and the pre-occupation of the Government by the expedition to Rangoon. Whatever was the cause, the inadequacy of the defensive arrangements in this quarter was signally punished ; and the consequences might have been still

¹ The Chittagong division was formed of the left wing of the 27th N.I., five Companies of the 40th, and the 1st battalion of the 45th, a Provincial battalion, and a Mug levy, a corps of natives of Arakan recently enrolled.

DEFEAT AT RAMOO.

more disastrous, if the Burma general had continued his movements with the spirit with which they were commenced. BOOK I
CHAP. I

1824.

The army of Arakan made its appearance on the Chittagong frontier in the beginning of May, nearly simultaneously with the arrival of the British expedition at Rangoon. The Burmas crossed the Naf, and advanced to Retnapalang, within fourteen miles of Ramoo, where the force, actually mustering eight thousand men, was concentrated under the four Rajas of Arakan, Ramri, Sando-way, and Cheduba, acting under the orders of Maha Bandoola, who remained with a reserve at Arakan. On the 13th of May, they advanced to a small river flowing past Ramoo, but were prevented from crossing it by the fire of the two six-pounders of Captain Noton's detachment. On the 15th of May, they effected the passage. To oppose them, Captain Noton had not above three hundred and fifty regular infantry, even after being joined on the 11th by Captain Trueman with three weak Companies of the 40th: he had also with him two hundred and fifty provincials, and four hundred of the Mug levy; but their evident unsteadiness, as the hour of encounter approached, shewed that no reliance could be placed upon any except the regular troops. His force was drawn up by Captain Noton behind a bank surrounding the encampment; his right was flanked by the river. About sixty paces in front was a tank, at which a strong picquet was stationed. At another tank to the rear, upon his left, were posted the Provincials, and the Mug levy: the regular Sipahis with the six-pounders formed his front. The Burmas took possession of a tank to the left of the encampment, surrounded as usual by a high bank which screened them in some degree from the fire of the detachment; and from which they pushed forward in their usual manner, sheltering themselves by burrowing in the ground, until on the morning of the 17th, they were within twelve paces of the picquets, with whom they exchanged a smart fire. The Provincials stationed at the tank on the left could no longer be kept to their post: they fled, and were followed by the levy. The tank was immediately occupied by the Burmas, who had spread into the rear; and the position was untenable. A retreat was ordered, and for a short time

BOOK III. noisance was made by General Campbell on the

CHAP. II. May, with four companies of Europeans, two of the

1821.

and two of the 38th, amounting to four hundred men, two hundred and fifty Sipahis, and a gun and howitzer from the Bengal Artillery. The path led at times through a close forest, and was obstructed, not only by natural impediments, but by trees, felled and strewn across it; where it opened, it came upon fields of rice and paddy, knee-deep in water. Rain fell heavily, and the fatigue of dragging the guns became so great, that the cattle and men were completely exhausted when they had marched but about five miles from Rangoon. They were consequently sent back under the escort of the native soldiers, and General Campbell resumed his route with his handful of Europeans alone. At the distance of about eight miles a body of the enemy, estimated at seven thousand strong, was discovered, having their front defended by two parallel trenchments, breast high, with an interior ditch. He proposed one company so as to keep the main force in check, the other assailed the stockades; and the men forced their way in by tearing down the stakes, or clambering over them, with the assistance of each other. The Burmese stood their ground for some short time, and a combat hand to hand ensued, in which the superior hardihood and vigour of the European prevailed over barbarian courage, and the bayonet in the hands of the latter, proved a weapon, against which the heavy sword and short spear of the former were unavailing. A frightful carnage took place; the survivors fled into the forest, and the stockades were set on fire. The troops were then drawn up against the main body, but no disposition was shewn by them to revenge the capture of the stockades, and the division slowly and unmolested returned to its cantonments. British loss was comparatively inconsiderable.¹ On the following morning, Brigadier Macbean, with two regiments, marched towards the post occupied by the Burmas; no traces of them were observable. Another stockade

¹ One officer, Lieutenant Howard of the 13th, was killed, and two Lieutenants, Michel and O'Halloran, of the 38th, were severely wounded; the former died a few days afterwards. Nine rank and file were killed, and twenty wounded. Of the Burmas, above three hundred dead bodies were found in the stockades and adjacent fields.—Despatch, Sir A. Campbell, 1st June. D. Ments, 55 A.

was discovered, and stormed on the morning of the 30th, BOOK III.
not far from the Great Pagoda.

CHAP. II.

1821.

The capture of their stockades on the 28th and 30th June, had no effect in discouraging the Burmas from their plan of surrounding the British troops in Rangoon, and either destroying them, or compelling them to surrender. Preparations on a large scale were begun, and works of great extent and strength were constructed at Kemendine, against which it was determined to make a joint attack from the shore and from the river. Three columns marched against the position on the northern and eastern faces, while two of the Company's cruisers, and other armed vessels, having three hundred of His Majesty's 41st on board, ascended the Irawadi. General Campbell was on board one of the cruisers. One column of Madras troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, soon came into action, but was unable to penetrate through the enemy's outer entrenchments. The second column, the Madras European Regiment, under Colonel Hodgson, although received by a heavy fire, might have succeeded in the attempt, but an unseasonable discharge of grape from some of the armed vessels crossing its line of advance, inflicted more damage than had been suffered from the enemy, and deterred the troops from prosecuting this assault. The third column failed to force its way through the thickets to any point where it could take part in the engagement. The troops were ordered to retreat, and the vessels fell down the river, yielding to the Burmas the honour of the day, and inspiring them to persevere in the contest.

Previously to this failure, two several missions had arrived, which professed to have come from the newly appointed Rangoon, or Governor of Rangoon, and from the Viceroy of Pegu, to demand the cause of attack upon Rangoon, and to propose a conference at Donabaw with the British commissioners. This was declined. The messengers of the Viceroy were apprized that the transmission of despatches to Ava would alone meet the wishes of the British officers; and they promised to return with the Viceroy's concurrence: but as they never again made their appearance, it was probable, that their purpose had been to observe the condition of the British force, and to obtain a suspension of hostilities. In this latter report

BOOK III. mainly attributable to the want of proper and salutary
 CHAP. II. nourishment. Such were the consequences of these com-
 1821. bined causes, that towards the end of the monsoon,
 scarcely three thousand men were fit for active duty. Their spirit remained, however, unimpaired, and with the intermission of the wet weather, and the arrival of more adequate supplies, the troops, although their numbers were greatly thinned by disease and death, were restored in some degree to health and efficiency.¹

Disease was not, however, the only enemy which the British had to encounter; and after a few weeks of repose, their exertions in the field were again attended with a renewal of their triumphs, as well as by an aggravation of their sufferings. Towards the end of June, the Burmas were observed crossing in considerable numbers from Dalla, on the right bank of the river, to the left above Kemendine; and on the 1st of July, the forests in front of the Bengal lines were occupied by the enemy, while three columns, each estimated at a thousand strong moved to the right, as if intending to interpose between the lines and the town. They were encountered by a company of the 7th, and two of the 22nd Madras Infantry, with a couple of guns, under the personal direction of General Campbell, and were soon driven from their forward position and dispersed. No further attack was made; but the Burmas were evidently pursuing their former plan of hemming in the British, and compelling them to retire, either by force of arms, or by the impossibility of availing themselves of the resources of the country. The check received on the 1st, had no effect on their movements; and on the following, a body marched upon Dalla. They were repulsed, but with the loss of the officer commanding, Captain Isaacs of the Madras Army. As the town which had been deserted by the inhabitants, served only

¹ "During June, July, August, September, and October, the average monthly admissions into the hospital from the Artillery, were sixty-five Europeans and sixty-two Natives, being nearly one-third of the former, and one-fourth of the latter; and large as was this number, I am assured it was considerably less in proportion than that which was exhibited by any (at least) European regiment, in either division of the army. Of the Europeans, those who died were a fraction less than one in twelve; of the Natives, something less than one in twenty. On the setting in of the cold season, the general sickness began to decline, and from January to July, 1825, was comparatively moderate."—Dr. Waddell on the Diseases among the British troops at Rangoon.—Trans. Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta, 3, 249.

to give cover to the enemy's approaches, it was destroyed.

The appointment of a new commander, the Thamba Wungyi, in place of the Thekia Wungyi, who had failed to fulfil the injunction of the Court to annihilate the invaders, gave an additional impulse to the operations of the Burmas, and rendered them so daring and troublesome, that Sir A. Campbell determined to drive the enemy to a greater distance. They had taken up a very strong position, about seven miles above Rangoon, at a place where another branch of the Irawadi, the Lyne, joins the Rangoon river; and had there constructed three large stockades, which completely commanded the stream. The first of these, stood on the right bank of the Rangoon branch, about eight hundred yards below the junction of the rivers; the second, on the left bank, at a similar distance; and the third, on the point of land at the confluence, which, from its having a small pagoda on it, was denominated Pagoda point. At Kamarut, a mile and a half above this, on the left bank of the Lyne, but at some distance from the bank, was a fourth stockade of still greater extent, connected with the others by subsidiary entrenchments. The works were defended by a force of at least ten thousand men. On the morning of the 8th of July, a flotilla consisting of two of the Company's cruisers, and several smaller vessels, under the command of Lieutenant Frazer, of His Majesty's ship *Larne*, having on board General Campbell, with two hundred and sixty men of the 41st regiment, a company of the Madras European Regiment, and detachments of the 3rd, 10th, and 17th Madras Infantry, ascended the river. The fire from the vessels soon overpowered that of the stockades; and having effected a breach in the entrenchments on the right hand, the troops disembarked, and carried the work by storm. The second stockade, was in like manner taken by escalade; and the third was abandoned.

While these operations were proceeding against the works on the river, a column composed of detachments from the different European regiments, the 13th, 38th, and 89th, the Madras European Regiment, and the 7th Native Infantry, with artillery, under the command of Brigadier General Macbean, marched from the Shwe-da-

BOOK III. gon upon Kamarut. The thickness of the forest com-
 CHAP. II. pelled the return of the field-ordnance, with the exception
 1821. of some small howitzers; and the march was further
 impeded by heavy rain. The column, however, advanced
 to the edge of a plain, where they could distinguish a
 series of seven different stockades giving mutual support
 to each other, and occupied by a numerous body of troops,
 who manifested entire confidence in the impregnability of
 their defences. After reconnoitring the works, General
 Macbean ordered the nearest of the stockades to be at-
 tacked; and it was immediately escaladed and taken by
 the 13th and 38th. As soon as it was cleared, the troops
 were again formed and led against a second stockade,
 which they carried in an equally intrepid manner. In this
 attack, Major Sale, of His Majesty's 13th, was engaged in
 single conflict with a Burma of rank, who fell beneath his
 sword. The slaughter was fearful; and those who fled
 from it were too much alarmed to think of rallying. The
 panic was communicated to their companions; and the
 remaining stockades were carried with little resistance.
 An attempt of the fugitives to assemble on the skirts of
 the forest was frustrated by a few discharges of musquetry;
 and the whole of the entrenchments at Kamarut were in
 the possession of the British. Eight hundred of the
 enemy were found dead in the stockades, and numbers of
 the wounded perished in the thickets into which they had
 been conveyed; among the latter, was Thamba Wungyi,
 the Burma commander. The capture of so many stockades,
 and the deliberate valour with which they were stormed
 and carried, almost exclusively by the bayonet, first struck
 terror into the Burmas; and they learned no longer to
 think themselves secure within the entrenchments. A
 strong impression was also made upon the Court: and
 they now began, though reluctantly, to admit some doubt
 of their triumph, unless the genius of Maha Bandoola
 should redeem the reputation of their arms.

The inundation of the country, and the sickly state of
 the troops, precluded the possibility of offensive operations
 on an extensive scale. Sir A. Campbell confined his
 movements, therefore, to the reduction of the districts
 which were accessible by water. Syriam, the ancient
 capital of Pegu, near the junction of the Pegu river with

that of Rangoon, was attacked and taken on the 4th of August, by a party of His Majesty's 41st, the Madras European Regiment, and 12th Madras N. I., and a division of seamen from the flotilla. The Burmas had fortified themselves in the old Portuguese factory, but had not courage to face an escalade. After a brisk fire, they fled as the troops advanced to the assault. A detachment was also sent to the opposite district of Dalla, where a stockade was in like manner deserted. Although harassing to the troops, these excursions had the effect of relieving the inhabitants from the military conscription to which they were subject: and some of them now ventured to return to Rangoon. The people of Pegu also began to cherish hopes of being enabled to shake off the yoke which they had borne for the last sixty years, and again becoming an independent kingdom under some descendant of their former kings. All encouragement to this effect was, however, abstained from: as it was thought that it might entail upon the Company the obligation of upholding a government incompetent to defend itself, and involve the British in an embarrassing connection, unlikely to be attended with advantage. It was, therefore, resolved not to countenance any insurrectional movements amongst the Talains, or people of Pegu: and this cautious policy made them backward in identifying their interests with those of the invaders.

The naval resources which were available induced Sir A. Campbell to extend his operations against the maritime possessions of Ava; and at the end of August, a division, consisting of His Majesty's 89th and the 7th Madras Infantry under Lieut.-Colonel Miles, with several gun-brigs and cruizers, were sent against the coast of Tenasserim; a narrow but productive strip of land, extending four hundred miles along the bay of Bengal towards the south, in which direction it was bounded by the Malay states dependent on Siam, while, on the east, a range of mountains separated it from that kingdom. The chief towns, Tavoy and Mergui, speedily fell into the hands of the British. At the former, a party friendly to them, headed by the second in authority, seized upon the Governor, and delivered up the town. At Mergui, some resistance was experienced: but after the fire from the defences was

BOOK III.
CHAP. II.
— — —
1824.

BOOK III. silenced by the cruizers, the troops landed and stormed
 CHAP. II. the principal stockade. The people, a mixed race of
 1824. Burmas and Peguers, at first fled; but shortly afterwards
 returned, and submitted readily to their new masters. At
 the same time, the reduction of the whole of the Tenas-
 serim provinces was completed, by the capture of
 Martaban, a considerable town on the Sanluen river; and
 the subjugation of the district of Ye, by a detachment of
 His Majesty's 41st, and the 3rd N. I., under Lieut.-Colonel
 Goodwin. Some resistance was encountered at Martaban,
 where the Burmas were in considerable strength, and of
 which the defences were formidable: the stockades were,
 however, carried by the combined exertions of the naval
 and land forces, without any heavy loss. Ye tendered a
 voluntary surrender; the Burma troops abandoning the
 neighbourhood, and withdrawing to the vicinity of Ran-
 goon. Thither, also, the Europeans returned, while the
 Native troops were left to garrison the conquered
 provinces. In the northern districts, as in the southern,
 the people, principally Talains or natives of Pegu, after a
 short interval of alarm and flight, returned to their habi-
 tations; and the resources of Tenasserim became fully
 disposable. They were found to be of importance;
 furnishing supplies of vegetables and of cattle to Rangoon
 and affording a comparatively healthy station, to which
 the convalescents of the army might be sent with ad-
 vantage.

On their part the Burmas were not idle; and although
 equally prevented from moving in large bodies by the
 state of the country, they hovered round the British out-
 posts on either bank of the river, and kept up a series of
 petty but harassing manœuvres. A body of picked men,
 supposed to be protected by charms and amulets against
 wounds, attempted a night assault upon the post at the
 Great Pagoda, but were easily repulsed, and taught, by the
 loss of twenty of their number, the fallacy of their fancied
 invulnerability. On the Dalla side of the river, a small
 post, which had been established to hold the Burmas in
 check, and was supported by several gun-brigs anchored
 in an adjacent inlet of the main river, was attacked on the
 night of the 5th September, while a number of war-boats
 attempted to cut off the gun-brigs. Both attacks were

repulsed; and the boats of the Larne, which had been manned and rowed up the creek, at the first alarm, put the Burma flotilla to flight, and captured five of their number. On the Rangoon river, above Pagoda Point, the Burmas had erected stockades, and were busy in preparing fire-rafts, when they were disturbed by a detachment of European and native troops, under Brigadier-General Fraser, who had succeeded General Macbean, in the command of the Madras division, and by a naval force under Captain Chads of His Majesty's ship *Arachne*, which had joined the squadron. The combined force ascended the river about twenty miles, and discovered and destroyed several stockades, the Burmas in which, after exchanging their fire with the flotilla, fled as soon as the troops were landed for the assault, evincing the impression which had been made upon their fears by the destruction which had hitherto befallen their entrenchments. A circumstance occurred, however, at this time, which might have been expected to have re-animated their confidence in their system of making war.

In the beginning of October, information having been received that the Burmas had strengthened themselves at Kyklu, about fourteen miles from Rangoon, Sir A. Campbell determined to dislodge them; and, in order to gratify the Madras troops, who felt aggrieved that they had not hitherto been allowed to lead the way to victory, but had been employed only to second and support the Europeans, the enterprise was entrusted to them alone; a brigade of the 3rd and 34th Native Infantry, about eight hundred strong, with two howitzers, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, being sent against the enemy. He marched early on the 4th of October, and, after some delay and fatigue occasioned by the state of the country, arrived towards evening at an entrenchment occupied by the Burmas. An attempt to carry it by escalade was defeated, with the loss of Lieutenant Campbell of the Pioneers, who was mortally wounded. The howitzers were then brought up, and after a few discharges, the work was taken back, and the Burmas retreated into the thickets adjacent. From information obtained from the prisoners, it appeared that the Burmas were in greater force at Kyklu than had been anticipated, and Lieutenant-Colonel Smith

BOOK III. applied for a reinforcement of a detachment of European troops. The Commander-in-Chief refused to allow any European soldiers to be sent,¹ but despatched three hundred of the Madras Infantry, with two more field-pieces, and with these Colonel Smith marched upon Kyklu on the morning of the 7th. On his approach to the position, a succession of breastworks arrested his advance. They were stormed, but with unavoidable delay; and it was five in the afternoon before the force arrived at the principal stockade, resting on an eminence on its right, the summit of which was covered by a fortified Pagoda. A column of attack under Major Wahab was directed to advance against the stockade in front, while another under Captain Williamson diverged to the right, to assault it in flank. A third column formed a reserve, while a party of the 25th N. I. was directed to carry the Pagoda. The Burmas permitted the column of attack to approach within sixty yards without firing a shot, when they poured upon them a fire of grape and musquetry, so steadily maintained, that the Sipahis quailed beneath it. Major Wahab and the leading officers and men were killed or wounded, and the remainder, losing their self-command, lay down to screen themselves from the fire. The party sent against the Pagoda had been unable to make any impression upon the post, and had fallen back, pursued by the Burmas. The column that was to have taken the works in flank had not made its appearance. Hopeless of retrieving the day, Colonel Smith ordered a retreat, which began with some degree of order, but soon degenerated into a flight; and the men rushed in a confused mass down the hill, closely followed by the Burmas. The pursuit was checked by the approach of Captain Williamson's division, which, unable to penetrate through the thicket, had retraced its steps, and debouched in time to oppose a steady front to the enemy. The column of reserve also succeeded in rallying the fugitives; and the whole retreated in good order to Todaghee, where they arrived at

¹ See Lieutenant Havelock's account of this transaction: he justly observes: "the catastrophe at Kaikloo is to be attributed to a false partition of force." Native soldiers are most effective when associated with Europeans: the absence of the latter on this occasion evidently originated in feelings incompatible with the real interests and reputation of the army.—Memoir on the Campaigns of Ava, p. 124.

eleven at night. Two officers¹ and twenty men were killed, and six officers and sixty men were wounded in this affair. A report was forwarded to Ava, that a great victory had been won; and the fact was confirmed by the transmission of the arms and accoutrements of the fallen soldiers. Great exultation was manifested, and commendations and rewards conferred upon the Tsada Woon, who commanded the Burma force.

BOOK III.

CHAP. II.

1824.

Whatever may have been the inducement to incur the hazard of discomfiture at Kyklu, its actual occurrence was too obviously mischievous, and was too intolerable to the spirit of the army to be passed over without retribution. Immediate measures were adopted to remedy the evil consequences of the disaster, and a force of four hundred and twenty Europeans, and three hundred and fifty Native Infantry, with three field-pieces, was detached against Kyklu, on the afternoon of the 17th, under Brigadier M'Creagh. On approaching the position, the division found the mangled bodies of those who fell on the 7th, suspended to the trees by the road-side, after having suffered every mutilation that barbarian cruelty could devise. The sight served to rouse the indignation of the troops, and they pressed on eagerly to revenge their companions in arms. Their vengeance was disappointed: the enemy had not waited for the certain retaliation, but had fallen back to Koghahi, where he was reported to have received reinforcements, and thrown up entrenchments. Brigadier M'Creagh continued his march to the spot indicated, but found no other vestige of the Burmas than an unfinished and abandoned stockade. Having destroyed the works at the different stations, the division returned to Rangoon without the loss of a man.

Nor was the expedition to Kyklu the only action at this period, notwithstanding the physical obstacles to military operation and the crippled condition of the force, which evinced the spirit of both the naval and military services. The brother of the King of Ava, the Prince of Tharawadi, who had been placed at the head of the Burma army, had continued in position with his main body at Donabew, but

¹ Captain Allen and Lieutenant Bond of the 34th Madras N.I. Trant, who was with the columns, and has given a very distinct action, makes the killed amount to forty.—Two Years.

BOOK III. had detached a part of his force under the Kye Wungyi, a principal member of the ministry¹, to Thantabain on the Lynne river. Here he was attacked, on the 8th of October, by Major Evans, with three hundred of His Majesty's 38th, one hundred of the Madras Light Infantry, with a detachment of Artillery and a division of gun-boats, the flotilla being commanded by Captain Chads. The party proceeded by water. On the 7th they arrived opposite to Thantabain, which was defended by three breast-works of timber, and fourteen war-boats, each carrying a gun. After exchanging a brisk fire, the troops and sailors landed, and stormed the works. On the following morning they attacked and captured the principal stockade, which was of great strength, being two hundred yards long by one hundred and eighty broad, and constructed of solid timbers fifteen feet high, having an interior platform eight feet from the ground, on which a number of small iron and wooden guns were arranged, while a battery of seven pieces of ordnance of larger calibre were placed in battery along the lower part of the work, through openings pierced for the muzzles of the guns. The Burmas, after one or two ineffective discharges, fled from the approach of the storming party, and the entrenchment was captured without loss. In it was found a temporary building for the accommodation of the Kye Wungyi, perforated in many places by the balls from the flotilla; a circumstance which, no doubt, contributed to the rapid evacuation of the stockade. The works were destroyed, and the force returned to Rangoon.

The rains which had intermitted in October, returned with great violence in the beginning of November: and as

¹ Although the Burma form of Government is that of an absolute despotism, the King is aided in his administration by two councils, a public and a privy one. The first consists of four members, entitled Wungyees, properly written Wun-kri. "Wun" meaning literally a burthen; but in this case denoting an office of importance. The members of this council are considered competent to the discharge of all responsible duties, whether civil or military: "so are their deputies, or Wun-doks, of whom also there are four. The council is completed by eight or ten Saradhaugyis, or Secretaries. The Privy Council consists also of four members, styled Atwen-wuns, or inside officers, being the private advisers of the King. They have their Secretaries, or Thandanthans. The Governor of a province is styled Myo-wun, and his deputy Re-wun, while the head of a township is the Myo-thugyi. All these, and all other public officers, are expected to discharge military, as well as judicial, and fiscal duties; and the whole male adult population of the country is liable to conscription.—Crawford's Embassy to Ava, p. 395.

the transports with fresh stores had not yet reached Rangoon, the continuance of the same causes, an unhealthy climate and unwholesome food, admitted of no material alleviation of the sickness. Scarcely thirteen hundred Europeans, many of whom were enfeebled by recent disease, were fit for duty ; and the native regiments were similarly reduced, both in numbers and vigour. The sufferings of the troops were, however, forgotten, in the prospect of new triumphs ; and the approach of danger stimulated them to exertions of which they could scarcely have been deemed capable. A final effort to drive the invaders into the sea, or bring them in chains to be subjected to ignominy and torture at Ava, was now to be made ; and Maha Bandoola, having added to the troops recalled from Arakan all the reinforcements which the utmost exertions of the Government could levy, was marching at the head of a reputed host of sixty thousand men, to annihilate the British army at Rangoon. He arrived in the vicinity of the British lines in the beginning of December, and was allowed to take up the position he selected without interruption, it being the policy of the Commander-in-Chief to encourage his presumption, and thus bring the enemy completely within reach before striking a decisive blow. The array of the Burma army, which was supported on the right by a numerous flotilla of war-boats and fire-rafts on the river, extended from the Irawadi, opposite to Dalla, in a semi-circular direction, past Kemendine and the Great Pagoda, facing the Bengal lines, and rested its left on the bank of the Puzendoon creek, half a mile from Rangoon on the east. The front was covered in most places by thick jungle, but, where open, was protected by breast-works and stockades, which were constructed with singular rapidity and skill. Of the Burma force, half were armed with musquets, the rest with swords and spears. They had a number of ginja's, or small cannon, carrying balls of from six to twelve ounces, and some pieces of heavier though not very serviceable artillery. A body of five hundred Casay horse, mounted on the small but sturdy ponies of the country, formed their cavalry. The key of the British position was the Great Pagoda, which was armed with twenty pieces of artillery, and occupied by three hundred men of His Majesty's 38th. The 28th

BOOK III.

CHAP. II.

1824.

BOOK III. of the Burmas, to effect its destruction. On the night of
 CHAP. II. the 14th, an extensive conflagration, attributed to incendiaries, broke out at once in different places, by which the

1821. mat huts were speedily consumed ; and a great part of the town was laid in ashes. The flames were fortunately suppressed by the exertions of the garrison and the sailors of the squadron, without having done any injury to the public stores ; and without any attempts of the enemy to take advantage of the temporary confusion and embarrassment which succeeded. Accordingly, on the 15th December, two columns, the right formed of detachments of His Majesty's 13th, and the 17th and 24th N.I. with one field-piece, and sixty men of the Governor-General's Body-Guard, the whole six hundred strong, under Brigadier Cotton, who had recently taken the command of the Bengal division ; and the left, eight hundred strong, composed of detachments of the 38th, 41st, and 89th King's Regiments, and the Madras European Regiment, and of the 9th, 12th, 28th, and 30th, N. I., with five guns, and the rest of the Body-Guard, commanded by General Campbell himself, marched upon the works at Kokien. The latter was intended to assail them in front ; while the former was to make a detour and attack them in the rear. The works were strong and extensive, consisting of two large stockades on either flank, connected by six circular entrenchments, the whole being three miles in circumference. The left column, on reaching the point of attack, was divided into two portions, which were respectively directed against the two principal stockades. The right column, on arriving in the rear of the left stockade, was for some time exposed to a heavy fire, by which the 13th which led the division, and which had signalled itself in every action in which the regiment had been engaged, suffered severely. Three officers were killed,¹ and Major Sale and several others were wounded ; but nothing could arrest the progress of the troops, and the entrenchment was carried at the point of the bayonet. At the same time, the 38th had escaladed the front face of the stockade, and the Burmas, hemmed in by the assail-

¹ Lieutenants Darby, Petre, and Jones, two Serjeants, and seven rank and file, were killed : eight officers, including Majors Sale and Dennie, two Serjeants, and forty privates, were wounded.

ants, fell in great numbers. The other principal stockade was captured with equal celerity by the 89th, and in twenty minutes the whole of the works were in possession of the British.¹ The Burmas sustained a severe loss on this occasion, as the fugitives were intercepted by the Governor-General's Body-Guard, a detachment of which had recently joined from Bengal, and proved of great service in the ensuing operations. Equal success attended the British arms on the river; and the boats of the men-of-war, and gun-boats towed by the Diana steamer, captured and destroyed a number of war-boats and fire-rafts. The dispersion of the grand army was thus completed; and the Burma General, retiring to Donabew, employed himself with the most laudable resolution and activity in rallying and re-organising his army, and placing it under the shelter of entrenchments of more than ordinary strength and extent. The character of the war was in fact changed. The Burmas no longer ventured upon offensive operations, but confined their objects to the defence of the line of the river, and the exclusion of the British from any communication with the upper provinces. The ill-success with which this policy was attended, we shall hereafter describe; and in the mean time, advert to the events which had occurred in other quarters.

BOOK III.
 CHAP. II.
 1824.

CHAPTER III.

Asam.—Advance of the British Troops.—Retreat of the Burmas to the Fort of Rangpur.—Dissensions of the Garrison,—capitulate.—Burmas evacuate Asam,—renew the Invasion in Concert with the Sing-fos,—their Stockades taken, and they finally retire.—Kachar.—Army assembled for the Invasion of Ava from Kachar.—Nature of the Country,—Impossibility of Advance,—Project abandoned,—the Burmas driven from Manipur by Gambhir Sing.—Arakan.—Large Army and Flotilla assembled for the Invasion of Ava by Way of Arakan,—difficulty of pro-

¹ Besides the loss suffered by the 13th, the casualties of the day, were, six killed, and eighty-five wounded; of the latter, Lieutenant O'Hanton, Bengal Artillery, died of his wounds.

BOOK III. to withdraw into the Burma territory, on condition of
CHAP. III. their abstaining from any act of aggression on their
1825. retreat. Those, who were willing to submit, were allowed to remain in Asam. The terms were accepted. Sham Phokan with seven hundred followers surrendered. There were about nine thousand of both sexes and all ages, including two thousand fighting men, who marched towards the frontier; but many fell off by the way, and established themselves in Asam. The occupation of Rangpur and the retreat of the Burmas successfully terminated the operations of the campaign, and rendered Asam a British province. There still continued, however, a demand for the exertions of the British officers to restrain the lawless habits of the Sing-fos, and other barbarous border tribes; who, taking advantage of the disorders consequent on the Burma invasion, overran and laid waste the adjacent districts, and carried off great numbers of the inhabitants as slaves. The determination which was shewn to prevent and punish the outrages of these tribes, induced them to make common cause with the Burmas; and in May, a joint force of Burmas and Sing-fos entrenched themselves at Dafa Gam and Bisa Gam, villages on the Nao-dihing river. These were successively attacked on the 9th and 11th June, by a detachment of the 57th Native Infantry, under Lieutenants Neufville and Ker. Little resistance was made at the former. At the latter the Burmas drew up in front of their stockades, as if with an intention of giving battle; but a corresponding move being made by the Sipahis, their courage failed, and they retired into their entrenchments. Being closely followed, they attempted no stand, but evacuated the whole of the stockades, five in number, as the troops advanced to the charge, without firing a shot. On the following morning, the enemy was pursued to the passes in the mountains, by a party under Ensign Boyle, less with the expectation of overtaking them, than that of rescuing the captives they were carrying into slavery. The hope was not disappointed; and, although the enemy were seen from the top of the first pass, making their way across the second, at a distance which precluded the chance of coming up with them, they had quickened their advance only by abandoning much of their spoil and leav-

ing their prisoners behind. Many hundreds of Asamese were redeemed from certain bondage, and restored to their native villages. Arrangements were subsequently made with the barbarian tribes of Upper Asam, by which they were converted into dependents and allies, and detached from all connection with Ava.

BOOK III.
CHAP. III.

1825.

The operations in Asam had been regulated by the principles originally laid down, and had been confined to the expulsion of the Burmas from the province. Adherence to a similar prudent policy in Kachar would have obviated much embarrassment and disappointment, and avoided an enormous and fruitless expense. When, however, the difficulties in which the expedition to Rangoon was involved were made known to the Government, and it appeared doubtful whether the British force under General Campbell would be able to penetrate into the interior of the country, the views originally entertained were departed from, and plans were suggested which received the earnest support of the Commander-in-Chief, for an invasion of Ava, by two considerable armaments, one of which was to penetrate from Kachar, through Manipur, into the valley of the Ningti river, falling into the Irawadi; the other from Chittagong through Arakan, and across the mountains into Ava, where it was to effect a junction with the army of Rangoon. The Burmas had shewn that such routes existed; and it was rather hastily concluded that they would be equally practicable to disciplined troops encumbered with heavy baggage, stores, and artillery. The consequences were such as might have been anticipated from so inaccurate an estimate of the difficulties to be overcome.

The force that was assembled on the Sylhet frontier for the Kachar campaign, in the cold weather of 1824-5, consisted of above seven thousand men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Shuldham.¹ No opposition was to be apprehended from the enemy, for the Burmas had abandoned all their posts in Kachar; and the exertions of the Court of Ava on the side of Rangoon, prevented the

¹ It was formed of six Regiments of N.I.: the 7th, 44th, and 45th, brigaded as the 3rd Brigade; and the 14th, 39th, and 52nd, as the 4th Brigade: two Companies of Artillery, four of Pioneers, the Sylhet Local Corps, a Corps of Cavalry, Blair's Irregular Horse, and a body of Kacharis and Manipuris, about five hundred strong, under Raja Gambhir Sing.

BOOK III. possibility of their reinforcing to any extent their parties
 CHAP. III. in Manipur. The army had, however, much more formid-
 1825. able foes to contend with in the character of the country
 that was to be traversed, and very soon experienced the
 utter impossibility of triumphing over the physical obsta-
 cles opposed to its progress.

The first move of the Kachar force brought Colonel Shuldham, with the artillery and the 3rd Brigade to Dudhpatli, by a road which had been made with infinite labour by the Pioneers, from Bhadrapur to Banskandy. From the latter to Manipur, a distance of nearly ninety miles, the whole tract presented an uninterrupted succession of ascents and descents, abrupt hills stretching across the road from north to south, and separated at their bases by narrow streams, with precipitous banks, running in a deep miry bottom, and liable, like all mountain rivulets to a sudden and rapid rise after every shower. For the first thirty miles, the hills were clothed from their bases to their summits with thick forests; the spaces between the trees of which were filled up with an intricate net-work of intertwining reeds and brushwood, effectually screening the alluvial soil underneath from the rays of the sun, and converting it into a deep and plashy mire after every slight fall of rain. To aggravate these difficulties, the season proved unusually wet; and frequent and heavy rains commencing early in February, and continuing through the month with little intermission, soon evinced that all expectation of reaching Manipur across the hills and thickets of Kachar, must terminate in disappointment. The Pioneers, by extraordinary exertions, cleared about forty miles of footway, to the banks of the Jiri rivulet, but their labours were of little avail, as the road was impassable for artillery and loaded cattle. In the attempts that were made to move onward, and in the conveyance of supplies to the working parties in advance, hundreds of bullocks, and a great number of camels and elephants, died of fatigue, or were either inextricably plunged in the mud, or had their limbs dislocated in the efforts made for their extrication. After struggling against these natural obstacles in vain, through February and March, the impracticability of the project was recognised, and the prosecution of the design was abandoned. The



185072

object was nevertheless accomplished ; but by much simpler and less costly means. The expelled Raja of Manipur, Gambhir Sing, accompanied by a British officer, Captain Pemberton, at the head of five hundred Manipuris and Kacharis, provided with arms and ammunition by the British Government, set out from Sylhet in the middle of May, and, after undergoing severe fatigue and privation, arrived on the confines of Manipur, on the 10th of June. The main body of the Burmas had quitted the valley ; and the detachments left in occupation, did not venture to oppose the Raja. Gambhir Sing, having cleared his country of the enemy, returned to Sylhet, to prepare for further aggressive enterprises when the season should permit.

The armament directed against Arakan was on a scale still more extensive than that against Kachar, and it was confidently expected, that after wresting the province from the Burmas, it would be able to act effectively in concert with Sir Archibald Campbell, by joining him on his way towards the capital. A force of about eleven thousand men¹ was assembled at Chittagong towards the end of September, of which the command was taken by Brigadier-General Morrison, of his Majesty's service : a flotilla of sloops and gun-brigs was attached to it, under the orders of Commodore Hayes,² for the conveyance of the troops and supplies along the shore, and to co-operate with the force in reducing those portions of the coast, which are formed into small islands by the numerous channels, through which the river of Arakan flows into the Bay of Bengal. Impediments of a similar character with those which had presented themselves in Asam and Kachar, arising from the nature of the country, and the insufficiency of its resources, retarded the opening of the campaign ; and the year had closed before the troops were in a condition to move. The want of cattle for the con-

¹ It was formed of His Majesty's 44th and 54th Regiments, the 26th, 42nd, 49th and 62nd, Bengal N.I., and 2nd L.I. Battalion ; the 10th and 16th Regiments, Madras N.I., the Mug levy, a body of Local Horse, with details of Artillery and Pioneers.

² The flotilla comprised the Vestal, Bombay cruiser, the Company's surveying ships, Research and Investigator, five gun brigs, with the ketch bomb-vessel, and Pluto, steam gun-vessel, four gun-pinnaces, and eighty gun-boats, each carrying a 12-pounder carronade, besides transports, and Mug and country boats. In addition to their crews, the vessels had on board a flotilla-marine, six hundred strong.

BOOK III. conveyance of stores and baggage was one of the most serious
 CHAP. III. obstacles of the march of the army, and the difficulty of
 1825. procuring an adequate supply even in Bengal, was mainly
 productive of a feeling of discontent among the native
 troops, which, in one unfortunate instance, led to an unusual and fatal display of insubordination.

In the ordinary movements of the Bengal army, the Sipahis are expected to provide the means of conveyance for their own baggage. This is not in general very cumbersome, but it includes articles for individual use, such as culinary utensils, which the Hindu soldier cannot, consistently with distinctions of caste, share with his comrade, and which form an inconvenient addition to the burthen to be laid upon the bullock that he has hired,¹ especially in the lower provinces of Bengal, where the cattle are small and feeble, and wholly incapable of carrying heavy loads, or undergoing long-continued fatigue. Such as they were, however, they were not to be had; the demands of the Commissariat for the supplies to Chittagong and Rangoon, had nearly swept Bengal of its entire stock, and no means existed of procuring cattle for the wants of the native soldiers. Even for the few that were procurable, drivers were not to be engaged, as they shrunk from the perils and privations of a long and laborious march, and either kept aloof altogether, or, if engaged, almost immediately deserted. The objections of the Bengal Sipahis to go on board ship, precluded recourse to the most ready and available mode of conveyance to the coast; and as the Arakan force was composed in great part of native regiments from Bengal, it was consequently necessary that they should be marched by land to Chittagong as soon as the route was practicable. Three of the regiments which had been cantoned at Barrackpore, the 26th, 47th, and 62nd, were accordingly ordered to move in the course of October; but they received the orders with murmurs, and exhibited a strong reluctance to obey, complaining, not without justice, that they could not hire cattle for the carriage of such of their baggage as could not be

¹ The principal articles were thus specified before the Committee of Inquiry, a plate, a water-pot, a boiler and frying-pan, and a cup; these were all of brass, and weighed about 22lbs. To these were to be added, a light carpet, and a quilt. The Sipahi carried his linen, and various small articles, in his knapsack, and sixty rounds of ammunition.

dispensed with ; and that they were required to pay an extravagant price for those few which might be purchased.

BOOK III.

CHAP. III.

1825.

There no doubt prevailed among the Sipahis a deep-seated dislike to the service on which they were about to be despatched. They had conceived an absurd dread of the Burmas, as magicians, who had the faculty of rendering themselves invulnerable ; and the destruction of the detachment at Ramoo, of which they had heard vague and exaggerated reports, aggravated their superstitious fears. They entertained a better-grounded apprehension of the unhealthiness of the climate ; and they were fully persuaded that it was intended to entice or force them to embark on board ship, as they believed it to be impossible to reach Arakan, except by sea. Various minor causes of dissatisfaction also prevailed, especially the inferiority of the pay of the Sipahis to that which was given to camp-followers, and to men of low caste, employed with the army, or in the flotilla, whose services it was difficult to procure, at this time, upon any terms ; but a preference of whom, in a pecuniary respect, was felt by the native soldiery, to be unjust to their superior claims. These different motives of repugnance were brought to a crisis, by the real difficulty of procuring conveyance ; and it would have been equitable, as well as politic, to have adopted liberal measures for the removal of this latter grievance, before the discontent had grown to an unmanageable height. Unfortunately, the chief military authorities, educated in the rigid discipline of the British army, exhibited no disposition to soothe the excited feelings of the native troops.¹ Imperfectly acquainted with the character of the Sipahi, or disdaining to humour his peculiarities, instant and unhesitating obedience was insisted

¹ The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Edward Paget, has recorded his impression of the state of discipline in the Native Indian army, in the Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons ; and, no doubt, acted under this influence on various occasions during his command. He observes :—"It is impossible for me to conceal from the Committee, that there is a great spirit of insubordination in the army, at least that I had the opportunity of more particularly seeing, which is the Bengal army. A sort of spirit of independence prevails amongst the officers, which is totally inconsistent with our ideas of military discipline. I had abundant opportunities of seeing it myself, and had the proofs before me of that spirit ; and I have reason to think, from what I have subsequently heard, that it is by no means subsiding."—Comm. House of Commons, Military Evidence. The latter part of this testimony applies to the officers, the first part to the army in general ; but, notwithstanding the high character of the witness, its justice in regard to either may be disputed.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

1824 The probable consequences of a persevering disregard of the reasonable complaints of the troops were either overlooked or defied.

1824 Upon a representation to head-quarters, towards the end of October, of the great difficulty experienced by the 47th Regiment, which was the first that was to march, in procuring conveyance, the corps was officially apprised that the Government could not provide them with cattle, and that they must purchase them for themselves. The communication was formally repeated on the 28th, by General Dalzell, commanding the station at Barrackpore, to the native officers of the regiment on parade, and from that moment the dissatisfaction was not to be appeased. It was in vain that an advance of money was offered to the men, or that their officers collected a partial supply of cattle at their own expense. They held private meetings in the lines, and bound themselves by oath not to march, unless their pay was augmented, and carriage supplied. It happened also, unfortunately, that the recent remodelling of the army had, in most instances, separated the European officers from the corps in which they had previously held command, and had placed over the men persons in whom they were not yet accustomed to confide, thus annihilating that salutary influence which a continuance of kindly intercourse most usually secures to the European officer over the native soldiery.¹ Scarcely any of the officers of the 47th Regiment had been attached to it for more than a few months; and they were consequently imperfectly acquainted with the proceedings of their men, and incompetent to contend with the spirit which had been engendered, whilst it was yet capable of being allayed. It had

¹ In the beginning of 1824, orders were sent to the several presidencies to make some alterations in the constitution of their respective armies: the principal of which was, the conversion of the two battalions, of which each regiment in Bengal had hitherto consisted, into as many regiments, giving a Colonel-commandant to each. The promotion consequent on this multiplication of Colonels, led necessarily to a fresh disposition of the whole army list; and in most cases officers were transferred from the battalions in which they had long served, to regiments in which they were strangers. Besides the loss of personal influence thus occasioned, a great moral injury was inflicted on the composition of the army. All the proud recollections of past triumphs were obliterated; the new regiment had no share in the honours of the old Pultna, or battalion, and felt no interest in maintaining its reputation. The evil was, no doubt, temporary; but it was at this moment in active operation.—The General Orders, breaking up the old organisation, are dated the 6th May, 1824.

now burst forth with irrepressible violence, and extenuated, if it did not wholly justify, the extreme measures pursued for its extinction. On the first of November, the 47th Regiment was ordered to parade in marching order. Not more than one-third of the corps obeyed. The rest of the men assembled tumultuously in the adjacent lines, and threatened to fire upon their comrades if they stirred. To their officers, and to General Dalzell, who attempted to recall them to a sense of their duty, they opposed vociferation and vehemence and menacing gestures, which compelled them to withdraw, and leave the mutineers to their uncontrolled will. They committed no outrage, but continued during the following day and night, in the same state of excitement and stubborn determination not to quit their cantonments. During the day and ensuing night, arrangements were made for the forcible suppression of the mutiny. Two of His Majesty's Regiments, the Royals and 47th, with a detachment of Horse Artillery, and a troop of the Governor-General's Body-Guard, were assembled at Barrackpore; and early on the 2nd of November were drawn up perpendicularly to the Sipahi lines, the artillery being posted something in the rear. The 47th N. Regiment was formed in front of the lines; and on their left, but in rear of them, the 26th and 62nd, the other corps which were also under orders to march, were stationed. Above a hundred of the latter, and about twenty of the former, fell in with the 47th. The rest stood firm, although participating in the feelings which agitated the devoted regiment. The native officers of the 47th separated themselves from the men. The Commander-in-Chief, with his staff, was on the ground. During the night, a petition had been addressed to him by the mutineers, in which they declared, that they had been told they were to be embarked on board ship for Rangoon, and that, as they could not obey the order without loss of caste, they would not comply with it. They prayed, therefore, to be dismissed, and allowed every man to return to his home. They were informed, that no intention of sending them on board ship had been entertained; but that regard could not be paid to soldiers in a state of rebellion, and that they must lay down their arms without stipulating for conditions. Whether this reply was made

BOOK III.

CHAP. III.

1825.

BOOK III. intelligible to them, or in what manner it may have been
 CHAP. III. received, there are no means of ascertaining. At day-
 ————— break, the regiment was paraded. Officers, to whom it
 1825. was thought they might be disposed to listen, were sent to
 the Sipahis, with orders either to agree to march immediately or to ground their arms: but their commands and remonstrances were repelled with an insane vehemence, which, there was reason to fear, might have ended in the perpetration of some atrocious crime. They were left, therefore, to themselves; and they stood with ordered arms in a state of stupid desperation, resolved not to yield, but making no preparation to resist.¹ When it appeared that their stubbornness was not to be overcome by expostulation, a discharge from the artillery guns was opened upon them. They instantly broke and fled. As they crossed the parade, they were fired upon by the Infantry, and charged by the Body-Guard, and many paid with their lives the penalty of their disobedience. A number made for the river, which skirts the plain of Barrackpore to the north, and several perished in attempting to cross it.² A number were made prisoners on the spot, and others were apprehended by the country-people and police. These were tried by native court-martials, and by their sentence some of the ringleaders were hanged, and others condemned to hard labour in irons.³ The number of the 47th Regiment was effaced from the list of the army, and the native officers were dismissed from the service; as it was argued, that the mutiny could not have been planned and executed without their knowledge, if not with their participation. That these judgments were

¹ It appeared, upon the evidence, before the Court of Inquiry, appointed to investigate the causes of the mutiny, that of the many muskets which were left on the field, scarcely one was loaded, although the men had each forty rounds of ammunition; yet it was deliberately asserted in the House of Commons by the President of the Board of Control, if his speech is accurately reported, that when the Royals were advancing the mutineers fired upon them. The same authority has been made to say, that there was no ground of complaint as to any want of proper accommodation.—*Debates on Mr. Hume's Motion for Papers, 22nd of March, 1827.*

² In the reports at first prevailing, it was said, that one hundred and eighty or two hundred were killed. In an account by Major Pogson, Brigade-Major at Barrackpore at the time of the mutiny, he observes, that the report was greatly exaggerated, and that only eleven bodies were found in the lines and on parade, although more were, very probably, killed in the pursuit, or drowned in attempting to cross the river.—*British Friend of India Magazine, October, 1842.*

³ General Orders, November 4th.

in some respects more severe than the occasion demanded was evidently felt, both by the Government of Bengal and the authorities in England. In the following April, the former remitted the punishment of the individuals detained in custody, in consideration of the good conduct of the 26th Regiment in Arakan, and thus anticipated orders of a like tenor, which were received from the Court of Directors at the end of the year. Whether any measures of a more deliberate and lenient description were advisable, on the morning of the 2nd of November, may perhaps admit of question, although it seems possible, that, if a short delay had been granted to the mutineers, they might have become conscious of the folly and danger of persisting in their disobedience. However this might have been, little doubt can be entertained, that an early and conciliatory acknowledgment of the wants of the troops in the articles of conveyance for their baggage, and a liberal consideration of the difficulties under which they undeniably laboured, might have mitigated the irritation which had been excited, and extinguished the flame of discontent before it had been rendered ungovernable by the accessories on which it had fed.¹

BOOK III

CHAP. III.

1825.

The strength of the Burmas in Arakan had been greatly reduced by the departure of their best troops to reinforce the army of the Irawadi; and those who remained were withdrawn from the frontier stations, and concentrated in the capital, under the command of the Atwen-wun Maunza, an officer of distinguished intelligence and courage. The force at his disposal was, however, utterly unequal to contend with that by which he was about to be assailed; and the province must have speedily submitted, if its conquest had not been retarded by physical obstacles. Of no great breadth in its widest parts, Arakan becomes narrower, as it runs southward, until the mountains forming its eastern boundary terminate in a point, at the headland of Cape Negrals. The capital and the chief towns are situated in the southern and narrowest portion, and to them the march of the army was directed; but the whole country was covered by impervious and pestilential forests, through which roads were to be opened, and it

¹ This was the opinion of several officers of rank and experience, given in evidence before the Court of Inquiry.

BOOK III several pieces of artillery and a strong body of troops.
 CHAP. III. The British force was formed for the attack on the morn-
 1825. ing of the 29th March, in the valley at the foot of the
 hills.

The first operations were directed to force the pass. The assault was led by the Light Infantry Company of His Majesty's 54th, four Companies of the 2nd Light Infantry Battalion, the Light Companies of the 10th and 16th Madras Infantry, with the Rifle Company of the Mug levy, and was supported by six Companies of the 16th Madras Light Infantry. The troops moved to the attack with perfect steadiness; but they were unable to make way against the steepness of the ascent, the fire to which they were exposed, and the shower of heavy stones rolled down upon them from above. After a fruitless struggle, in which every officer was disabled, and many of the men had fallen, it was judged expedient to desist; and the assailants were recalled.¹ The failure of the attempt rendered a change of plan advisable; and while the attention of the enemy was kept on the alert in front, it was determined to turn the position by a movement on their right. The guns were accordingly brought into position on the 30th; and on that and the following day a brisk fire was maintained upon the Burma defences. On the evening of the 31st, Brigadier Richards with a detachment,² ascended the range by a circuitous route; and had established himself on the summit, before his movement was detected by the enemy. On the following morning, the division attacked the Burmas in flank, while the main body again assailed them in front. They offered but a feeble resistance; and abandoned Arakan to the British arms, retreating across the low lands between the city and the mountains, and crossing the latter by the passes of Talak and Aeng.

The town of Arakan, situated on the banks of a branch of the Koladyne river, on an irregular square plan, enclosed by hills, presented few traces of its former greatness. A stone fort defended its north-west angle, and works of considerable strength in the shape of walls, and

¹ Captain Trant, of the 16th Madras N. I., was killed.

² Six Companies of His Majesty's 44th, three of the 26th, and three of the 49th, thirty seamen, and as many dismounted troopers of Gardner's Horse.

embankments of masonry crowned the hills, and filled up whatever gaps were left by their inferiority of height,—forming a line of circumvallation of nine miles in extent. The different elevations adjacent to the town were surmounted by Buddhist temples; but the town itself presented no buildings of any consideration, being a mere collection of mud and mat or bamboo hovels. The greater portion of the population had abandoned the place; but they speedily returned, and submitted readily to a change of masters. As soon as the necessary arrangements could be effected, the main body of the army was quartered in the vicinity of the town, and detachments were sent out to complete the reduction of the other divisions of the province. A force,¹ under Brigadier General Macbean marched in April against Sandoway and the island of Ramri. A descent had been made upon the latter, early in February, by Lieut.-Colonel Hampton, commanding at Cheduba, with a few men of His Majesty's 54th, and European Artillery, five hundred of the 10th N.I., and seamen and marines from the Hastings frigate. But the ignorance or treachery of the guides misled the division away from the point it was intended to assail; and, after exposing them at disadvantage to the fire of the enemy in a tract overspread with thicket, compelled their re-embarkation. The success of the Burmas on this occasion failed to inspire them with confidence: and upon the arrival of General Macbean, it was found that they had abandoned their works, and passed over to the main land. A detachment of Artillery, and eight Companies of the 10th, were left to garrison Ramri; and the rest proceeded to Sandoway, a town situated at the head of a tide inlet, about twelve miles from the sea. This was also deserted by the enemy. It was not thought necessary to leave any part of the force for its defence at the time; but Sandoway, as the islands of Ramri and Cheduba, proved to be so much less unhealthy as stations for the troops than the interior of Arakan, that they were all afterwards permanently occupied.

The final subjugation of Arakan accomplished one object of the equipment of General Morrison's force, and

¹ Four Companies of His Majesty's 44th, eight of the 40th Bengal N. I., 16th Madras N. I., and eight guns.

vance to Pagahm. — Final Defeat of the Burma Army. — Affairs in Pegu. — Advance of Main Army to Yandabo, — Negotiations for Peace. — Treaty concluded, — Conditions, — Return of the Troops. — Reflections on the War, — its Inevitableness, — the Mode of its Prosecution, — Value of Acquisitions.

THE situation of the British forces at Rangoon had undergone a rapid improvement after the dispersion of the Burma army and the capture of the stockades at Kokien. With the altered condition of the atmosphere, the progress of disease was arrested, and the efficiency of the force was re-established. Re-inforcements were also received, and the political state of the country became more propitious. The inhabitants, who were mostly of the Talien or Pegu race, began now to look with confidence to the ability of the British to effect their emancipation from their Burma masters, and hastened to place themselves under the new administration. A proclamation addressed to them by Sir Archibald Campbell confirmed them in their favourable sentiments, and invited them to choose a chief of their own nation whom the English General engaged to acknowledge.¹ The extinction of the ancient ruling dynasty deterred the Peguers from complying with the invitation, although three Talien chiefs, in the service of Siam, who were at the head of a considerable body of troops in the neighbourhood of Martaban, opened a friendly communication with the British Commander in the beginning of the year, requesting that an amicable intercourse with Siam should be maintained, and offering if required, to advance and join the English with five thousand men. It did not appear, however, that they acted under any orders from the Court of Bangkok, or that they were authorised to furnish military aid; and the offer was therefore declined, although general assurances were expressed of a friendly disposition.² Neither was it thought advisable to prosecute the project of encouraging the people to recover their independence, as, however attended it might be with present benefit, it might lead to eventual inconvenience.³ No steps were taken, therefore, to

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.
1825.

¹ Appendix II.

² Documents, Burmese War, p. 119, 120.

³ Letter from Lord Anherst to Sir Thomas Munro, Life, 2, 124.

BOOK III. Major Sale accordingly returned to Bassein, and thence
 CHAP. IV. sailed back to Rangoon, whence he joined the reserve

1825.

column on its march to Prome. This expedition against Bassein was attended with no political or military benefit, and was planned eviſently upon imperfect information regarding the nature of the country to be traversed, and a miscalculation of the benefits to be expected from such a diversion.

The column commanded by Sir Archibald Campbell marched on the 13th of February, following the course of the Lyne river at some short distance from its left bank. On the 17th it arrived at Mophi, where, from information received from the Karens, or hill-people, who displayed a favourable feeling towards the British, it was ascertained that Maha Thilwa, with a considerable force was posted. Upon arriving on the ground, the enemy had disappeared, except a small party, which had taken shelter in the remains of an old Pegu fort; but which, as the division approached, fled, after firing a few shots, into the adjacent jungle. The column halted at Mophi until the morning of the 19th, when it moved onwards to Lyne, the capital of the province, where it arrived on the 23rd. The town was situated on the river side. The force was here in communication with the boats, bearing its stores; and halted to lighten their burthen, the river becoming too shallow for deeply laden vessels. Some supplies were also obtained from the Karen villages, which were found thinly scattered along the route. On the 1st of March, the column forded the Lyne river, and on the following day, after a march of fourteen miles in a north-westerly direction, reached Tharawa, on the main stream of the Irawadi. Much to the mortification of the force, the whole population of Tharawa was descried on the opposite bank of the river; and, soon after, was lost in the shades of an extensive forest. No means of crossing the river, here eight hundred yards broad, were found. At Tharawa, the column halted, in expectation of hearing news of General Cotton's brigade, until the 7th, when, from a cannonade heard in the direction of Donabew and information subsequently received, it was rather hastily concluded that the position had been taken. These accounts were confirmed on the following day; and the column moved on two marches in

advance to Yundit, when a despatch from General Cotton announced the failure of his attack, and the necessity of the employment of a more powerful force against it than that which was under his command.

BOOK III.

CHAP. IV.

1825.

The column that was destined to advance by water, moved on the 16th of February, and on the 19th, the van arrived at Panlang on the Rangoon river, where both banks were defended by stockades, while a third in front guarded a point where the channel divided. The shells and rockets from the flotilla cleared the entrenchments; and the troops, when landed, found them deserted. A division of the 18th Madras N. I. was left in one of the stockades, to keep open the communication with Rangoon. The others were destroyed, and the flotilla advanced to Yangan-cheno, where the Rangoon branch separates from the Irawadi. The force entered the latter river on the 27th, and on the 28th the advance came in sight of Donabew, where Maha Bandoola had entrenched himself. Some delay occurred in passing the more heavily laden boats across the shallows into the Irawadi; but the whole were in the main stream by the 4th of March, and on the morning of the 6th took up a position on the right bank of the river, two miles below Donabew. The Burma General had been summoned to surrender, and had returned a courteous but resolute refusal.

The works at Donabew were of considerable strength and extent, lying along the right bank of the river, and commanding its whole breadth. The chief work, a parallelogram of one thousand by seven hundred yards, stood on a bank withdrawn from the bed of the river in the dry season, and rising above it. Two others, one of which was a square of two hundred yards, with a pagoda in the centre, and the other, an irregular work, four hundred yards from it, stood lower down on the river; forming outworks to the principal stockade, and commanded and supported by its batteries. All three were constructed of squared beams of timber, provided with platforms, and pierced for cannon; and each had an exterior fosse, the outer edge of which was guarded with sharp-pointed bamboos, and a thick abattis of felled trees and brushwood. One hundred and forty guns of various calibre, besides a still greater number of ginjals, were mounted on the parapets, and the

BOOK III. garrison consisted of twelve thousand men, commanded
CHAP. IV. by the most celebrated general in the service of Ava.

1825. The assailants bore no proportion to the defenders; for General Cotton had left his native regiment at Panlang, and part of his Europeans, to guard the boats with stores. His whole available force did not, therefore, exceed six hundred bayonets, a force manifestly inadequate to the storming of Donabew, even with the assistance of the guns of the flotilla. The orders of the Commander-in-Chief, however, leaving, in General Cotton's opinion, no alternative, he made arrangements for the attack. At sunrise, on the 7th, two columns composing together five hundred men, advanced against the smaller stockade, supported by the fire of two field-pieces, and of a rocket battery. They were encountered by a fire kept up with more steadiness than the Burmas had lately displayed; but the troops disregarded it, and rushed impetuously on the work into which they forced their way. The garrison, after suffering severely, fled over their defences, but many were intercepted by such of the troops, as, unable to penetrate into the interior, spread round the parapet, and cut off the fugitives. The stockade was soon in the possession of the assailants.

The second of the entrenchments was next attempted. A battery was erected in advance of the captured stockade, and when it was thought that a sufficient impression had been produced, a column of two hundred men was sent forward to storm the work. The Burmas remained quiet until the assailants had advanced to within a few yards, when a heavy fire was poured upon them, by which the leading men were struck down, and the column turned from the point of attack. The men endeavoured to shelter themselves in a ditch, which was, however, exposed to the fire of the enemy. Captain Rose, who had led the party, was shot while endeavouring to rally his men, and Captain Cannon of the 89th was mortally wounded. The loss of men was also severe, and it became necessary to recall them. It was now evident, that Donabew was too strong to be reduced by General Cotton's division, and he desisted from a further unprofitable expenditure of life. The guns and stores were re-embarked, and the flotilla dropped down to the position at Yung-yung, which it had occupied

on the 6th, and there awaited the instructions of the Commander-in-chief.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

1825.

However anxious to accelerate his onward march, Sir A. Campbell could not avoid feeling the necessity of a retrograde movement against Donabew, not merely to redeem the reputation of the British arms, but to free his rear from a force which cut off his communication with Rangoon, and by commanding the river-navigation rendered it impossible for supplies to reach him by water. As soon as positive information of the check which had been sustained was received, he retraced his steps, and, leaving Yuadit on the 11th, returned to Tharawa on the 13th. Here it was necessary to cross the Irawadi; for which purpose no other means existed than a few canoes capable of conveying but a small number of men at a time, and utterly unfit for the carriage of guns and stores. By great exertion, however, and the construction of rafts for the reception of the heavier articles, the passage was effected in the course of five days, and the army was assembled on the right bank of the Irawadi, by the 18th of March. The head-quarters were at Henzada, a town of some extent: the vicinity of which was ornamented by a number of handsome Buddhist temples and monasteries, sheltered by groves of mangoes and tamarinds. Neither priests nor people were, however, visible: the whole population of the town and neighbourhood having abandoned their habitations. No hostile force had opposed the occupation of the town; but information was received, that the Kyi Wungyi was posted at a distance of fifteen or twenty miles from Henzada; and it was thought possible to surprise him. Lieut.-Colonel Godwin, with His Majesty's 41st, the Body-Guard, and a brigade of guns, made a night march with this object. They came upon a party of Burmas at daybreak, who immediately dispersed and fled, but the main body had previously effected their retreat, leaving the country open for the advance of the army. This was made with as much expedition as was practicable, in the absence of all regular roads, and the delay caused by having to cut a pathway through the intricate jungle of brushwood and tall reeds, by which the surface was overspread. On the 25th, the force came before Donabew, and preparations were immediately com-

BOOK III menced for the attack of the main entrenchments,
 CHAP. IV. which it was necessary to proceed in form. The
 1825. General was equally active; and, on the same night, the troops had well taken up their position, directed a well-judged sortie against the right of the line. They were repulsed without much loss on either side, but gave a favourable indication of the spirit with which they were animated, and of the military talents of the commander.

The army having been encamped above the works, the water column was some way below them, a short communication occurred in establishing a communication; but, on 27th, the flotilla weighed with a fair breeze, and sailed past the stockades under the fire all the guns the Burmese could bring to bear upon it. At the same time, a battle took place on the west side, headed by a line of seven elephants, each carrying five or six men, armed with muskets and ginjals, and supported by a body of Camroo horse, and a dense mass of foot. The army was drawn up to receive them. They advanced steadily to within a short distance, when, being staggered by a well-maintained fire of musquetry and artillery, their discomfiture was completed by a charge of the Body-Guard. The elephants losing their drivers, and becoming unmanageable, broke away and fled into the thicket; the Horse followed their example, and the Foot retreated precipitately into the stockade. Upon the junction of the flotilla with the battering-train and stores on board, the heavy guns and mortars were immediately landed, and placed in battery; during which operation, shells and rockets were diligently thrown into the entrenchments. Some attempts to interrupt the progress of the battery were made by the enemy, but without effect, and the guns opened on the morning of the 3rd of April. They were unanswered by the stockade, and shortly after they commenced firing, the Burmas were discovered in full retreat, through the adjoining brushwood. It was soon ascertained, that the death of their general had paralysed the energies of the garrison. Maha Bandoola had been killed on the previous night by the bursting of a shell, and with him expired the courage of his followers. Despairing of success, they refused to prolong the resistance, and evacuated the en-

trenchments, carrying with them the ashes of their chief whose body had been burned. The death of Bandoola spared him the mortification of beholding the disastrous termination of that war which he had been mainly instrumental in exciting, and which he alone had the ability and courage to maintain, if not with hope, at least with reputation.¹

The capture of Donabew removed the only remaining obstruction to the prosecution of the main object of the campaign, and as soon as the post was taken possession of, Sir A. Campbell resumed his march. He was at Tharawa with his advance on his way to Prome on the 7th of April, and on the 8th was there joined by reinforcements from Rangoon, under Brigadier M'Creagh, consisting of His Majesty's Royal Regiment, and the 28th N. I., with elephants, and carriage-cattle sent round from Bengal. The main body, after crossing the river in the boats of the flotilla, was concentrated at Tharawa on the 10th, and immediately moved forward. The Burmas had been rallied by the Prince of Tharawadi, whose head quarters were at Yagain, but he retreated as the British army advanced; and the force arrived at Prome on the 25th, without encountering an enemy. The town had been but recently evacuated by the Burmas, after setting fire to the stockades. Part of the town was found on fire; but the exertions of the troops prevented the conflagration from spreading. At first, no signs of population appeared; but, in the course of a few hours, a number of the inhabitants showed themselves, and having been assured of protection for their families and property, re-established themselves in their residences: guards were placed over the religious edifices for their preservation, and every precaution was taken for the maintenance of tranquillity and order. After a brief interval, Prome again became the seat of industry and traffic. A regiment of Native Infantry was quartered in the town: the rest were stationed outside; and, as the rainy season was approaching, cantonments were constructed for the shelter of the troops during the monsoon. The weather had been hot during the whole of the campaign, the thermometer rising to

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.
1825.

¹ The loss of the British in the affairs at Donabew was, thirty killed, and one hundred and thirty-four wounded.

BOOK III. native kingdom from the domination of the Burmas. Due
CHAP. IV. encouragement was given to this demonstration, and means
1825. for facilitating the passage of the Sanluen river by the
Siamese force were in course of preparation, when letters
from the Prime Minister of Siam announced the recall of
the Ron-a-ron and that of his troops to the capital. The
death of the King, which took place in April, 1825, and
the requisite presence of the chiefs at his funeral, and
the installation of his successor, were the reasons assigned
by the Prime Minister, in a letter to Colonel Smith; but
a promise was added, that after the Monsoon the Siamese
army should again take the field. This promise was not
performed. The new King probably adopted a different
policy from that of his predecessor, and contemplated the
triumph of the British, and the projected independence
of Pegu, with equal aversion. Nothing further was heard
of the Siamese auxiliaries; but a friendly understanding
subsisted, and many Talien and Burma captives and fugi-
tives were allowed to return to their native country, to
enjoy the security afforded by the protection of the British
Government.

Upon receiving the intelligence of the fall of Donabew
and the death of Bandoola, the first feeling of the Court
of Ava was that of despair. It was, however, but of short
duration; and the King was persuaded that the contest
was not yet hopeless, and that the English might still be
humbled. Great exertions were made to recruit the army.
In place of the usual conscription, large bounties were
given to the Burmas to induce them to enlist, and the
tributary tribes of Shans, north of Ava, were summoned
to support the general cause. They obeyed the summons,
and joined the Burma army in large numbers, confiding
in the fortunes of the kingdom, and unacquainted with
the enemy they were eager to encounter. The principal
force was assembled at Miaday, about sixty miles from
Prome, under the command of Mimiabo, a half-brother of
the King; while other divisions were stationed at Pagahm,
Melloon, and Patanagoh, amounting in all to about forty
thousand men, of which one-half was posted at Miaday.
Another body, stated to be twelve thousand strong, was
stationed at Tongho, the capital of the province of Thara-
wadi, to the north-east of Prome. To encounter these

forces, Sir A. Campbell had under his command about five thousand men, of whom two thousand three hundred were Europeans. Detachments left at Rangoon, to the extent of about one thousand five hundred more, were under orders to join him. The state of his force, and the advanced position he had attained, rendered it highly improbable that the renewal of hostilities by the Court of Ava would be attended by a more favourable result than the past.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.
1825.

While both parties were thus prepared to resume active operations, they were not averse to the discontinuance of the contest; and, in compliance with the tenor of the injunctions which he repeatedly received from Bengal, to avail himself of every favourable opportunity of bringing the war to a close, Sir Archibald Campbell addressed a letter to the ministers of the King of Ava, from his headquarters at Prome, stating his being authorised to negotiate and conclude a peace, and inviting them to avert the misfortunes which impended over their country from the prosecution of the war, by a timely assent to equitable terms of pacification. The overture was promptly met; and a deputation arrived from the Burma camp, to propose that a mission should be sent to the Prince Mimiabo, who held the chief command and was fully empowered by the King to treat, in order to specify the terms, on which a pacific negotiation should be based, and to make arrangements for a suspension of hostilities during the interval requisite for communicating with the Court. In conformity to the invitation, two officers, Lieut.-Col. Tidy, the Deputy Adjutant-General, and Lieut. Smith, of His Majesty's ship *Alligator*, accompanied the Burma deputies to Miaday, where they found the Kyi Wungyi, at the head of the force. The Prince was at Melloon; and as it was necessary to refer to him for final orders, the British officers were delayed ten days in the Burma entrenchments, during which they were treated with perfect confidence and cordiality, and received from all persons of note with whom they were permitted to carry on unmolested intercourse, assurances that the sense of the nation was

¹ According to General Campbell's own account, his letter was immediately acknowledged. He observes, "The time had scarcely elapsed for the reception of an answer, when such did actually arrive."—Document 144, A.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

I. advanced age obeyed the call of his prince, and relinquished the retirement into which he had withdrawn, to lead the forces of his country, as he fully confided, once more to victory. Under his command, the Burma army drew towards the British lines at Prome, with a view to circumscribe their limits, and harass, and intercept their communications. A considerable body was accordingly thrown forward to Watigaon, twenty miles from Prome, where they entrenched themselves in a position which gave them the command over the country, on the right flank of the British army, and from which it was, therefore, necessary to dislodge them.

On the evening of the 15th November, Brigadier McDowall was despatched against Watigaon, with four Regiments of the Madras N. I., disposed in three columns: the first, under Colonel McDowall himself, consisting of the 28th and 43rd Regiments, was intended to attack the position on the left; the second, formed of the 22nd Regiment, led by Major R. Lacy Evans, was to assail it in front, supported by the 18th, which was moved forward for that purpose. The 38th Regiment formed the third column, and moved to the eastward. The ground did not admit of the employment of artillery. The columns marched separately across a plain much broken by swamp and thicket, which prevented their mutual communication; and on their way, they were opposed by parties of the enemy, who shewed themselves in great strength; and who, although repulsed, retarded the progress of the columns. It thus became impossible to operate in concert; and when the principal body under Colonel McDowall approached the works, there was no appearance of the other divisions. As the brigade was unprovided with battering guns, the entrenchments could not be breached; and in the attempt to push forward and force an entrance, a heavy fire was poured upon the troops, by which their commander being killed and many of their officers disabled, Lieut.-Colonel Brooke, who succeeded to the command, was compelled to order a retreat. The Burmas pursued the retiring detachment to within nine miles of Prome, and had thrown it into great disorder, when the movements of the other divisions also in retreat, effected a diversion in its favour.

The colu
pious es
strong sto
tered, tha
firing fro
appeared
ment reti
and oblig
treating
Smith
which t
body of
as no t
the fi
had
mar
The
cipa
form
had
It w
that
was
tran
div
th
to
a
v

The column under Major Evans fell in with the enemy's picquets early in the morning, and drove them in upon a strong stockade, from which so heavy a fire was encountered, that the advance was almost annihilated. The firing from the main column was heard, but, as there appeared to be no prospect of its co-operation, the regiment retired, pursued for about three miles by the Burmas, and obliged to abandon the wounded; but otherwise retreating in good order. The 38th Regiment, under Colonel Smith, was unable to reach Watigaon before noon, by which time the other columns were in full retreat. A body of the Burmas was encountered and dispersed; but as no traces of the main division could be discovered, and the firing had ceased, it was concluded that the attack had failed, and the column returned, after a fatiguing march, to Prome, having met with no other opposition. The loss of the detachment was severe.¹ A principal cause of the failure appears to have been misinformation as to the strength of the Burma force, which had been reported not to exceed two or three thousand.² It was estimated by the officers engaged, at five times that number. The separation of the attacking columns was also ill-judged; as the nature of the ground to be traversed, rendered it impossible for the different detached divisions to arrive simultaneously at their destination.

The success of the Burmas on this occasion confirmed them in their expectation of compelling the British army to retire from Prome and encouraged them to advance within a few miles of the town. Their left, under Maha Nemyo, which had lately triumphed at Watigaon, took post at Tsembike, on the Nawain river, a stream running past Prome, and falling into the Irawadi. The centre, commanded by the Kyi Wungyi, moved down to the heights of Napadi, within a distant view of the cantonments, and thence spread round to Watigaon. The Burma right, under the Tsada Wun, followed the right bank of the Irawadi to Padong, and thence detached a body to Shwe-

¹ Besides the death of the Commanding Officer, ten officers were wounded, of whom, Lieut. Ranken, 43rd Madras N. I., died. Of the Native troops, fifty-three were killed, one hundred and ten were wounded, and forty-two were missing. A total loss of above two hundred.

² Despatch of Sir A. Campbell. Documents 150.—According to Lieut. Trant, it consisted of eight thousand Shans, two thousand Burmas, and six hundred horse, under the command of Maha Nemyo.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

III. along in the rear. The former was occupied by a detachment of the Royals, who had thrown up an entrenchment, and repulsed every attempt of the Burmas to expel them. Colonel Godwin was despatched to drive the enemy from Shwe-dong; but he was anticipated by the 87th, which, on its way to join the main body, had been fired upon from the post, and had in consequence landed and dispersed their assailants, leaving the communication again open. The Taada Wun fell back, so as to communicate with the Kyi Wungyi, occupying the rocks on the right bank of the river. The several divisions of the Burma army were all strongly entrenched. On their side, the British were diligently engaged in strengthening themselves with field-works and entrenchments, as if in apprehension of an attack, and in the hope of inviting it. This defensive attitude, however, failed in its object. The Burma generals adhered to the national tactics of a gradual and guarded approach; and it was evident, that the British front could be cleared of the enemy, only by assuming the initiative, and making an attack upon the Burma lines.

In pursuance of this determination, Sir Archibald Campbell, leaving four regiments of Native Infantry for the defence of Prome, marched, on the 1st of December, with the remainder of his force. Directing the flotilla, with a regiment of Native Infantry, to make a demonstration against the enemy's right, so as to engross their attention, he directed his principal attack against their left. The army was formed into two divisions; one, under the Commander-in-Chief, consisted of the 13th, 38th, 47th, and 87th Regiments of His Majesty's troops, and the 38th Madras, N. I.: the other, under General Cotton, was composed of His Majesty's 41st and 89th Regiments, and the 18th and 28th Regiments of N. I. The second division, following the left bank of the Nawain river, came first upon the enemy's works about noon. They were immediately stormed and carried by Lieut.-Colonel Godwin, with the advance. The Burmas lost three hundred dead in the entrenchments: their veteran general, Maha Nemyo, was among the slain. The division commanded by Sir A. Campbell was delayed by the difficulty of the route; but it arrived on the opposite bank of the Nawain as the fu-

tives were escaping from the stockades which the second division had carried, and completed their defeat. The first division then countermarched to Ziuk, at the ford over the Nawain, where it halted for the night: the second division bivouacked at Tsembike: both ready to follow up the advantage which had been gained by an attack on the right of the enemy's centre at Napadi.

On the morning of the 2nd the force advanced, and when arrived at the foot of the hill, divided into two columns: one of which, under Brigadier Cotton, took a circuitous direction to the right, so as to fall upon the enemy's flank; while the other, following the bank of the river, ascended the hills by narrow pathways obstructed by underwood. The flotilla at the same time pulled up the river, and throwing shells and rockets into the stockades on either bank, kept down the fire from the guns which defended the Burma position. As soon as this was effected, the troops moved to storm the entrenchments, the 13th and 38th Regiments under Colonel Sale proceeded along the river, supported on their right by six Companies of the 87th. They were encountered by a heavy fire, but pursued their way steadily without firing a shot, until they had gained the summit, when they drove the Burmas from the entrenchments, and followed them from hill to hill, until the whole position, two miles in extent, was in their possession. General Cotton was unable to penetrate through the thicket; but this was immaterial, as the works were gained, and the enemy had disappeared everywhere, except on the right bank of the river, where the Tsada Wun still remained in force. On the 5th of December, Brigadier-General Cotton, with a part of his division, crossed the Irawadi, and drove the Burmas from the works on the river, and from a strong stockade in the interior.¹ The whole of the Burma force was thus, once more, broken up, and was further weakened by the almost entire desertion of the Shans, who returned to their own country. Thus reduced, the Burma commanders were unable to man the defences which they had constructed along the river,

¹ In these operations, the loss was twenty-five killed, and one hundred and twenty-one wounded. Three officers, Lieuts. Sutherland and Gossip, of His Majesty's 41st, and Lieut. Proctor, of His Majesty's 38th, were killed. Ensign Campbell, of the 1st, and Lieut. Baylee, of the 87th were mortally wounded.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

1825.

numbers from sixteen to twenty thousand. Their confidence, however, was too violently shaken, to enable them to avail themselves courageously of their resources; and the post of Melloon was abandoned after a feeble defence. The British batteries were opened upon the works before noon on the 19th of January, with great effect; and under cover of their fire, a brigade of the 13th and 38th Regiments, conjointly less than five hundred strong, under Lieutenant-Colonel Sale, crossed the river below the entrenchments, to assault the south-east angle, while the main force under General Cotton crossed higher up, in order to attack the northern front. The boats of the first division were carried rapidly down the current past the works of Melloon, from which a heavy fire was opened upon them; by which Colonel Sale and several of the men were wounded. The troops effected a landing, and after a short interval, escalated the entrenchments. The Burmas made no further resistance, but retreated with such celerity, that they eluded the pursuit of General Cotton's division, which had landed, and attempted to intercept their retreat. A great number of guns of various descriptions were found in Melloon, with abundant stores of ammunition and grain. The capture was attended with but trifling loss. The works were set on fire, and the army resumed its advance, anticipating, from the apparent resolution of the Court of Ava, the necessity of occupying the capital. One more effort was made by the war party to avert such a catastrophe.

Anxious as were the sovereign and his ministers to put an end to a contest which had inflicted so much injury and disgrace, and menaced consequences still more fatal; the conditions of peace, particularly the payment of an indemnification which was regarded with peculiar aversion, not only from the avaricious disposition of the king but as a confession of inferiority, and an unequivocal sign of degradation, were felt to be so intolerable, that any chance of escaping from them, however desperate, was eagerly grasped at; and the empty boast of a military chief that he would be answerable for the discomfiture of the invader was listened to with credulity. Zay-yah-thuyan, the name of this individual, who was dignified with the title of Nuring Phuring, prince of Sun-set, was entrusted with

the greatest force that could be collected, amounting to about sixteen thousand men ; and with these he engaged to cover the capital against the nearer approach of the British army. At the same time, it was thought prudent to keep open the negotiation, and deputies were despatched to the British camp to ascertain the ultimatum of the Commissioners. Either from a distrust of its own officers, or in the belief that the choice would be acceptable to the British, the deputies of the Court on this occasion were Mr. Price, an American Missionary, settled at Ava, and Mr. Sandford, the Surgeon of the Royals, who had been taken prisoner: four other prisoners were set at liberty, and sent down with the deputies. The latter reached the head-quarters of the force, on the 31st of January, and after a conference with the Commissioners, returned to Ava: the stipulations previously proposed were insisted upon without modification.

BOOK II.
CHAP. IV.
1825.

In the mean time, the march of the army continued, and on the 8th of February, approached within five miles of the ancient city of Pagahm, the capital of the Burma empire at the season of its greatest power and prosperity. The city was enclosed by a ruinous brick wall, which had been partially repaired, but behind which the Burmas evinced no disposition to take shelter. Their new General had adopted a novel system of tactics ; and discarding the national practice of combating behind entrenchments, arrayed his army in the open field among the remains of numerous pagodas, and amidst a thicket of prickly jungle traversed by a narrow pathway, on either side of which he had arranged the chief body of his troops. The force with Sir A. Campbell, did not exceed thirteen hundred men, of whom nine hundred were Europeans ; two regiments of the latter, the 47th and 87th detached to Tondwyne, to collect cattle and grain, as well as disperse a body of Burmas reported to be stationed there to harass the British flanks, not having rejoined. With the limited force under his command, General Campbell moved to attack the superior numbers of the enemy on the morning of the 9th, advancing in two divisions. The first, commanded by himself, was formed of His Majesty's 13th and 89th Regiments, four guns of the Horse Artillery, and a detachment of the Body Guard. The 38th and 41st Regiments formed

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

1825.

the second division, commanded by Brigadier Cotton; and the left was covered by the 43rd Madras N. I., following the line of the river. The European divisions were directed severally against the left and right wings, while the advance led by Sir A. Campbell, and consisting of two companies of the 13th, with the Horse Artillery and the Body Guard, occupied the centre. The several attacks were crowned with success; although for a short time the safety of the advance was compromised. Pushing forward with their usual impetuosity, and driving the enemy before them, they had left behind them the supporting columns, which were more slowly disengaging themselves from the narrow route by which they had to pass. Observing this, the Burma General ordered large detachments including a body of six hundred Casay horse, to close in from his centre and left, and cut off the most forward of his assailants from their main body. The necessity of a retreat was obvious; but it was made with a coolness and deliberation which deterred the Burmas from following up their advance, the troopers of the Body-Guard forming in the rear, while the guns of the Horse Artillery were loaded, and opening to the left and right to allow of their being fired. In this manner, alternately forming and retreating, this small body checked the audacity of their pursuers; and the progress of the flank divisions speedily put an end to the danger. The Burmas were driven from the field; a stockade which covered their right flank was carried at the point of the bayonet; and the last army which the Court of Ava could hope to raise was destroyed. Its presumptuous commander returned to Ava, to carry the tidings of his defeat, and solicit the command of another army with which to retrieve his credit. He was ordered from the presence with contumely, and on the night of his arrival put to death. That the contest had become hopeless, and that the British arms had nothing more to apprehend from the exhausted energies of Ava became manifest to the people; and their conviction was evidenced by their return to their homes which they had been forced by the Burma authorities to abandon. They flocked into Pagahm from every quarter; and numerous boats crowded with men, women, and children passed hourly down the river to the villages on the banks. The army halted a few days a

Pagahm to recover from the fatigue which it had undergone, from the nature of the road and the increasing heat of the weather. BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.

1825.

While these transactions were taking place on the upper course of the Irawadi, the province of Pegu had been the scene of some military movements of a chequered character, but ending in success. Upon the advance to Prome it was not thought necessary at once to dislodge the Burmas from the line of the Sitang river on the right flank of the army; but the duty was assigned to a division under Colonel Pepper, consisting of the flank companies of the Madras European Regiment, and three regiments of N. I., which marched from Pegu, in order to occupy Tongho, about eighty miles east of Prome. As the detachment advanced the Burmas abandoned their posts, and the detachment entered Shoegyun on the Sitang river, without opposition, on the 4th of January. It was here ascertained, that the former governor of Martaban with a considerable body was stockaded at Sitang, in the rear of the advance, and intercepted the communication with the lower provinces. The 3rd Regiment of Madras N. I. under Lieut.-Colonel Conry, was sent back to dislodge the Burmas from the position; but this attack was repulsed with heavy loss, including the commander.¹ The disaster was immediately repaired by the activity of Colonel Pepper who falling down the river with his whole disposable force, attacked and carried the stockade by storm, on the afternoon of the 11th January. The works were strong and well situated, and were defended with spirit. The loss was proportionately severe;² that of the enemy was much greater. Colonel Pepper was reinforced after the capture of Sitang, in such a manner as to ensure the command of the country against any efforts yet in the power of the enemy to make.

After halting five days at Pagahm, Sir Archibald Campbell, on the 16th February, continued his march towards the capital, and had reached Yandabo, within sixty miles

¹ Besides Col. Conry, Lieut. Adams of the 3rd Regiment was killed; two officers, Lieuts. Harvey and Potter, were wounded; ten natives were killed, and nineteen wounded.

² Two officers, Capts. Cursham and Stedman, were killed. Major Home, Lieut. Fullerton, and Lieut. Power, were severely wounded. The loss in rank and file, was fourteen killed, and fifty-three wounded.

BOOK III. in the beginning of December, and returned to B
 CHAP. IV. early in the following year. The stipulation of the tr

1825.

of Yandabo providing for the permanent residence
 representative of the British Government, at the ca
 of Ava, was little less unpalatable to the Sovereign
 the demand upon his treasury; and it was not until
 beginning of 1829, that the presence of a resident
 felt to be essential for the adjustment of various sub
 of discussion, and Major Burney was in consequence
 pointed. However acceptable to the Ministers, and to
 King personally, and although discharging the duties
 his appointment in a spirit of conciliation and im
 partiality, the Resident failed to reconcile the Court to
 arrangement which they looked upon as a public and
 petual record of their humiliation.

The enormous expense, and the vast loss of life wh
 the war with Ava had occasioned, and the uncertainty
 reaping any adequate advantage from the acquisitions w
 which it had closed, excited in the authorities at hon
 strong feeling in opposition to the inevitability of the
 and in condemnation of the system on which it had b
 conducted. The occupation of Shahpuri, a mere sand-b
 it was argued, was wholly unworthy of serious dispu
 and its relinquishment involved no loss, either of reve
 or reputation. The interposition exercised in the aff
 of the petty states of Kachar and Manipur was treated
 unseasonable and impolitic; and the facilities which
 fugitives from Asam and Arakan were permitted to find
 the Company's territories for maintaining a civil war
 the countries from which they had been expelled, with
 refusal of the British Government to apprehend and g
 up those disturbers of the public peace, afforded, it
 affirmed, reasonable ground of offence to the Court of A
 and evinced a spirit which could not fail to irritate
 ambitious and semi-barbarous power. A more conci
 tory policy would, in all probability, have prevented
 collision; and, if it had not succeeded, the only alternat

the King, that the supreme Government adhered to the opinion that the N
 formed the proper boundary between Ava and Manipur; but that, in c
 sideration for His Majesty's feelings and wishes, and in the spirit of amity
 good-will subsisting between the two countries, it consented to the rest
 tion of the Kubo Valley to Ava, and to the establishment of the boundary
 at the foot of the Yumadong Hills.—Pemberton, p. 119.

REPLY TO OBJECTIONS TO THE WAR.

necessary was, the maintenance of a sufficiently strong defensive attitude on the frontier, to have protected it from violation. War with Ava was particularly to have been avoided, not from any fear of its military power, or doubt of the result, but from the difficulty of reaching the enemy through the natural defences by which he was guarded, the absence of all resources in his country, the scantiness and misery of the population, and the insalubrity of the climate. No conquests that might be made could compensate for the evils that were unavoidable, as the greater part of the dominions of Ava were not only incapable of contributing to the public revenue, but of defraying the cost of the establishments requisite for their government. They could be alone retained by a further waste of money and of men, and must be sources of weakness, not of strength, to the Indian empire.

The observations that have been suggested by the occurrence of hostilities with Nepal, apply with equal force to the war with Ava. A continued course of forbearance and conciliation, involving loss of credit to the State, and positive injury to its subjects, might possibly have delayed, but could not have prevented a rupture. Incapable of appreciating a generous and civilised policy, ignorant of the resources of the Government whose resentment they defied, reckless of international rights, inflated with an overweening confidence in their own prowess, and emboldened by a career of victory, the King and the Ministers of Ava were, as we have already explained, eager for a contest, the results of which they did not for a moment question, would be the confirmation of their supremacy over the countries from which they had expelled the legitimate princes, and the re-annexation to the dominion of the Burmas, of those portions of Bengal which had become their right, as constituting provinces of the conquered kingdom of Arakan. These notions were fostered by forbearance. The obvious and avowed anxiety of the Government of Bengal to preserve amicable relations uninterrupted was misinterpreted; and its reluctance was ascribed, not to moderation, but to fear. To have persisted in the same policy must have led to the same result, as it would have tended only to confirm the Burmas in their schemes of aggrandisement. Nothing

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IV.
1825.

China: they are also rich in vegetable and mineral products.¹ Of these conquests, however, Arakan has made the most decided advance. Favourably circumstanced, both as to climate and soil, for the growth of rice, it has become the granary of the countries on either shore of the bay; and hundreds of vessels now annually sail from its harbours, which at the time of the conquest rarely sent even a fishing boat to sea.² In an economical point of view, therefore, these territories have already exceeded expectation, and are in a state of progress to still greater improvement; while they have a real political value in constituting a difficult and well defined frontier, presenting a ready access to Ava and Siam, and promising at some future period convenient intercourse by land with the opulent empire of China. The civilisation of the barbarous tribes which occupy the intervening space, may also be contemplated as a certain although distant result; although some temporary embarrassment and disinterests of British India and of Oriental civilisation may have been occasioned by the war with Ava, be gainers by the contest,

CHAPTER V.

State of Feeling in Hindustan in 1824. — Extension of Territory. — Protected Sikh States. — Raja of Kunjawa. — Fort stormed. — Religious Impulse. — Outrages in Hariana. — Attack on

¹ Particularly Teak Timber and Tin. Moalmain, which, as text, was an inconsiderable cluster of miserable huts in 1826, town containing, with the adjacent district, a population of 60,000 on an active trade. The average value of the Exports for ending in 1839, was about £70,000, and of the Imports £140,000 of the Tenasserim provinces, although much increased, above 100,000, or little more than three to the square mile. Tenasserim Provinces by Dr. Helfer, Calcutta. Printed also the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1833-1840. Also Bengal and 1841, vol. 2.

² In 1839-40, nearly twelve hundred square-rigged vessels, besides country coasting vessels. The value of Ak-yab, exceeded twelve lacs of rupees (£120,000); the rice was coast of the Peninsula, to the Isle of France, to the Peninsula, and China. The land in cultivation had been more it still did not exceed more than one twenty-fifth of the whole cultivated. The population had increased from about 250,000 in 1839. The net revenue, at the latter date, was was fully equal to the charges.

Mischievous Reports current in Malwa. — Predatory Incursions of Sheikh Dalla. — Rising of the Bhils in Baglana, — of the Coolies in Guzerat. — British Officers killed at Kittur, — Fort surrendered. — Capture of Omraiz. — Troublesome Conduct of the Raja of Kolapur, — Force sent against him, — Treaty concluded, — violated and renewed, — Military Control maintained until his Death. — Disturbances in Cutch. — Incursions from Sindh. — Feelings of the People towards the British Government in the British Provinces. — Sentiments of the Native Princes. — Relaxation of Control. — Transactions with Alwar. — Claimants for the Raj. — Attempted Assassination of Ahmed Baksh Khan. — Investigation demanded, — refused by the Raja. — Transactions with Bhurtpore. — Recognised Right of Succession of the Infant Raja. — Death of the Father, Baldeo Sing. — Guardian of the Minor murdered. — Durjan Sal seizes the chief Power, — his Right disallowed by the Resident of Delhi, — professes to act as Regent, — Professions not credited. — Sir D. Ochterlony assembles a Force against Bhurtpore, — Measures disapproved of by the Government, — Employment of Troops countermanded, — Resignation and Death of Sir D. Ochterlony, — his Popularity, — Prudence of the Decision of the Government, — Final Determination. — Large Force assembled under the Commander-in-Chief, — Siege of Bhurtpore. — Walls breached. — Mines sprung, — carried by Storm, — Durjan Sal taken, — Regency appointed. — Advance against Alwar, — Raja submits. — Visit of the Governor-General to the Upper Provinces. — Intercourse with the King of Oude. — Loans by the Court of Lucknow. — Death of the King. — Missions from Holkar, — and from Sindhia. — Death of Daulat Rao. — Regency of Baiza Bai. — Adoption of a Successor. — Visit to Delhi. — Residence at Simla. — Friendly Communications with Runjit Sing. — Insurrection of Afghans, — incited by Syed Ahmed, his Death. — War between Persia and Russia, — Successes of the Russians. — Territory ceded and Indemnification paid by Persia. — Abrogation of British Subsidy. — Death of Abbas Mirza. — Return of the Governor-General to Calcutta. — Discussion of Judicial Arrangements. — Progress at the different Presidencies. — Death of Sir T.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

Munro. — *State of Finances.* — *Domestic Affairs.* — *Succession of Bishops.* — *Advance of Education.* — *Expedition in Search of Traces of La Perouse.* — *Close of Earl Amherst's Government and Departure for England.*

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1824.

THE condition of the territory subject to British dominion on the continent of India, about the period of the commencement of hostilities with the Burmas, although in the main satisfactory, was not exempt from sources of uneasiness. The impression produced by the splendid triumphs of the Pindari war had already lost much of its freshness, and the inhabitants of the West and the South, no longer exposed to the ravages of predatory bands, no longer permitted to recruit their rank and share in the spoil, began to grow impatient of authority which, while it protected them from the lawlessness of their neighbours, also restricted them from perpetration of violence. In several of the newly acquired districts, the financial exactions of the Government undesignedly oppressive. The lands had been assessed when the prices of grain had been raised to an unusual height, by the presence of large bodies of militia, well as by the extensive discontinuance of cultivation and no allowance had been made for the inability of the people to pay the same amount of rent when, in consequence of the disappearance of military bazars, and the great extension of agriculture that followed the re-establishment of peace and the produce of the soil had increased in a most rapid ratio than the population, and the demand proportionately declined. Some time elapsed before altered circumstances were fully appreciated; meanwhile the people and their rulers were not satisfied. The state of things was not much improved in the old provinces. The tranquillisation of Hindostan thrown back upon the Company's territories of India, and whose turbulence no longer found in the mercenary bands of Mahratta or defects in the administration of civil justice to be remedied. The police was still inefficient, and the settlement of the revenue for a period

tracted to ensure to the occupant the fruits of any improvement he might attempt, was still deferred. These causes produced a general sentiment of discontent; and in the course of 1824, there was scarcely a district, in the Upper Provinces in particular, in which a spirit of disaffection was not more or less manifested.¹ The feeling was fostered by the dissemination of vague and exaggerated rumours of the checks which had been suffered on the western frontier, and by a current belief that the resources of the state were wholly absorbed by the war; a belief confirmed by the march of the troops from the interior to the Presidencies, for service in Ava, and the consequent reduction of the military force on duty in Hindustan. The expression of the public sentiment was restricted, however, to partial and desultory manifestations, and to acts of petty and predatory violence, which the means at the command of the Government, and the activity of its officers, were fully able to suppress and punish.

In the protected Sikh provinces on the north-west, where in consequence of the drafts made upon the regular troops, the peace of the country had been entrusted almost to the unassisted guardianship of the native chiefs, a predatory leader, who had for some time past baffled the pursuit of justice, emboldened by the weakness of the local troops, collected a formidable band of followers, and established himself in the mud fort of Kunjawa, not many miles from the station of Saharanpur, where he assumed the title of Raja, and levied contributions on the surrounding districts. He was joined by adventurers from all parts of the country, and was rapidly organising a formidable insurrection, when the fort was attacked by a detachment of the Gorkha Battalion, and a small body of horse, under Captain Young and the Civil Commissioner, Mr. Shore. The banditti were dislodged after a fierce combat, in which one hundred and fifty of their number were killed. At a somewhat earlier date, a religious mendicant at Badawar announced his advent on an appointed day as Kali, the last of the Hindu Avatars, for the purpose of overturning the reign of the foreigners. He was apprehended: but on the day appointed, a lawless

¹ Notes on Indian Affairs, by the Hon. F. J. Shore, i. 159.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK III. multitude headed by a body of Akalis, collected to effect his rescue. They were encountered by a party of horse, in the service of the Patiala Raja, by whom they were discomfited and dispersed; and, as there was no further sign of the promised Avatar, the agitation subsided.

It was not to be expected, that the turbulent tribes of Haryana, and the borderers of Bhatner and Bhikaner, the Mewatis and Bhattis, would remain tranquil under the temptation offered by the reduction of the military force in their neighbourhood, and the reported decline of the power of the Government. It happened also, unfortunately, that the autumnal harvest proved defective, and a scarcity of food contributed to impel the villagers to recur to their predatory practices. A band of plunderers from different villages in the district of Rotak, near Delhi, took the opportunity of a large Mela, or fair, at Beree, to carry off many hundred head of cattle, including a number purchased for the Government, proclaiming that its authority was at an end. A party of horse escorting public camels destined for the army, was attacked by the inhabitants of Bhawani, and other villages; and repulsed the assailants, only after suffering loss of life. Arms and ammunition were everywhere collected. The communication with Delhi was intercepted. A movement was threatened upon Hissar. Suraj Mal, an exiled marauder, returned from his exile, and at the head of four hundred matchlocks, and a party of horse, stormed and took the fort of Behut, defended only by a few Irregular Horse. Similar proceedings took place in the district of Rewari; and the spirit of turbulence was spreading to a dangerous extent, when measures were taken for its extinction. Two additional regiments of Irregular Horse were immediately raised for service in the Delhi districts; and the Gorkha Local Battalions were augmented. The increase of military strength, and the judicious arrangements of the chief Civil authorities, succeeded in restoring order.

In the province of Bundelkhand, heretofore an equally prolific source of turbulence, order was successfully preserved, with one wild but unimportant exception, in which an attempt was made by a refractory Jagirdar of the Jhaloun Raja, to carry off the public treasure from the fort of Kalpee, and plunder the town. The whole garrison co-

sisted of but one weak company of Sipahis, commanded by Captain Ramsay, while the assailants were in considerable strength, both horse and foot. The insurgents were repulsed from the fort, although it was not possible to defend the town, which was plundered and partly set on fire : the arrival of reinforcements soon put the marauders to flight. Their leader, Nana Pundit, was shortly afterwards taken prisoner and confined for life.

BOOK III
CHAP. V.

1824.

In Malwa, similarly mischievous reports unsettled the minds of the people ; and a rumour was extensively circulated, that the British were about to retire from Central India, in consequence of the difficulties of the Burma war. No serious consequences, however, ensued. In Sondwana, an attempt was made to organise a rising ; but it was frustrated by the timely movement of a military detachment. More troublesome transactions occurred on the Nerbudda, in the vicinity of Burhanpur, in consequence of the reappearance of Shaikh Dalla, a notorious Pindari, and long the terror of the Nizam's territory. Through the collusion of the Mahratta manager of Burhanpur on behalf of Sindhia, and in league with the Eastern Bhils, the free-booter succeeded in reviving a system of outrage and plunder ; lurking in the jungle between Asirgerh and Elichpur, and suddenly sallying forth at the head of a strong party of horse and foot, and sweeping off the cattle and property of the villagers, and robbing and murdering travellers and merchants. Associated with him, was an impostor, pretending to be Chimnaji Appa, the brother of the Ex-Peshwa, who, at the head of a body of armed men, attempted to penetrate into Berar. Troops were despatched against Shaikh Dalla in different directions ; and the party of Chimnaji was surprised and dispersed by a division of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force under Major Seyer. The main body of his marauding confederates who were encamped in the vicinity hastily retired ; but their retreat brought them in contact with a party of the Mandaleswar Local Corps, under Lieut. Dermit, by which they were put to flight. The Pindari took to the thickets ; but the little success which had attended his career and the activity displayed in his pursuit so disheartened his followers, that he was unable again to make head in any force.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.

1824.

Some disturbances were created earlier in the year, in the same quarter, by the return of the Bhils to their habits of plunder, especially in Baglana, where they were incited to insurrection by Godaji Danglia, a relative of the notorious Trimbuk, who endeavoured to give a political character to his proceedings, and pretended to act in the name and on the part of the Raja of Satara, calling upon the people to join his standard, as that of the Mahratta empire. Some success attended his first operations; and, besides plundering the country, he gained possession of the hill fort of Muralihar. The approach of a body of regular troops disconcerted the insurgents, and they abandoned the post, and took refuge in the hills where they could not be pursued. The presence of additional forces from Hyderabad and the Dekhin, prevented the repetition of these outrages; and arrangements were devised for the conciliation and civilisation of the Bhil tribes, in place of those which had been hitherto proposed, and which had met with imperfect success. The experiment of forming a Local Corps, composed of the Bhils themselves, which had been previously tried and failed, was now repeated, and after some difficulty proved eminently beneficial. From the time when it became effective, order was maintained; and the Bhils of the Sathpur and Ajunta hills were gradually weaned from their predatory propensities.¹

In Guzerat, towards the end of 1824, the Coolies, a rude and turbulent race scattered over the province, from the borders of Cutch to the Western Ghats, evinced more than their usual refractory spirit, and rendered military coercion necessary. The first attempt to put them down was unsuccessful; and a party of Bombay N. I. was repulsed, with the loss of an officer, Lieutenant Ellis, from the village of Dudana, near Kaira, which was enclosed by thick hedges of the milk plant, and defended by a mud fort; in storming which, the assailants were exposed to a destructive fire, which compelled them to fall back. The Coolies, however, evacuated the post, but still continued

¹ This success was mainly owing to the influence obtained over the Bhils, by the personal activity and intrepidity of Lieut. Outram, who ventured among them without attendance, and won their confidence and respect by his participation in their habits of living, and the dexterity and intrepidity which he displayed in the chase of the wild animals of the forest.—“Historical Sketch of the Bhil Tribes of Kandesh, by Capt. Graham, Bhil Agent, Bombay, 1843.”

their depredations, burning the villages and plundering the people, even in the immediate vicinity of Baroda. Parties of the Gaekwar Horse and the Subsidiary Force were sent against them, and generally dispersed them without much difficulty; but they retreated into the Run, and after a short interval, returned and renewed their ravages. Early in 1825, however, their main body was surprised by a wing of the 8th N. I., and a squadron of Dragoons, near Vitalpur, not far from Dudana. In their endeavour to escape into the adjoining thickets, they were intercepted by the Dragoons, and many were killed or taken, including several of their principal leaders. The check completed their discouragement, and they ceased for a time to harass and alarm the country. It was not, however, until a later period that the last bands of them were broken up by the capture of their principal leader, and a number of his followers, in the neighbourhood of Nasik, by a detachment of troops from Ahmednagar, under the command of Captain Mackintosh.¹

At a period somewhat earlier than the first of these operations, and less connected than most of these petty outbreaks with popular agitation, the Southern Mahratta country presented an instance of resistance to authority, not unfrequent under the loose system of allegiance which the native chiefs acknowledged to the head of the state, but which was incompatible with the purposes of a well-organised administration. The Desai, or chief of Kittur, a small district near Darwar, held his chiefship under a grant from the British Government, as a tributary fief, descending to his heirs in a direct line. He died in September, 1824, leaving no children; and the district reverted to the paramount power. The principal servants of the late Desai were naturally averse to the loss of influence and emolument which they were likely to suffer from the change, and they instigated the mother and the widow of the chief, the latter of whom was a mere child, to declare that, prior to his decease, he had enjoined the adoption of a son, who had been in consequence adopted, and who succeeded to his territory in right of the adoption. The fact of the injunction was disputed, and the validity of the adoption in any case denied, as the sanc-

¹ General Orders by the Governor of Bombay, 9th June, 1829.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK III.
 CHAP. V.
 1824.

tion of the Government had not been previously obtained, as the performance of the ceremony did not take place until after the Desai's demise, and as the relationship of the boy to the family of the chief was distant and doubtful. As the objects of the party by whom the claimant was set up were clearly the retention of power in their own hands during the minority of the adopted son, and the appropriation of the accumulated treasure of the late chief, to the prejudice of the right of his widow, Mr. Thackeray, the collector, refused to recognise the adoption without the sanction of the Government of Bombay; and, in the mean time, assumed charge of the effects of the Desai, and the management of Kittur. These measures were confirmed; and he was instructed to institute a careful inquiry into the circumstances of the adoption, and, in the mean time, to retain the control of the district. A ready access had at first been allowed to the interior of the fort; seals had been placed upon the treasure, and a slight guard was stationed at the inner gate, to prevent the property from being clandestinely carried off. The collector, with two of his assistants, and a small escort, a Company of Native Horse Artillery, one of Native Infantry, were encamped without the wall. On the morning of the 23rd of October, when the gates open, the garrison rushed forth in such overwhelming numbers, as to overwhelm the party. Mr. Thackeray, Captain Black, and Lieutenant Dighton, commanding the escort, were killed, Captain Sewell was wounded, Stevenson and Mr. Elliott, assistants to the collector, taken and carried into the fort, where they were threatened with death, if any assault should be made upon it. The excitement occasioned by this transaction spread, and the people of the country between the parba and Kittur, manifested a disposition to join the insurgents. The Mahratta Chiefs preserved neutrality, and tendered their contingents. These were not sent but to prevent the mutinous spirit from extending, were despatched without delay against Kittur. The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay; and

force was speedily assembled before its walls,¹ under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Deacon, and the directions of Mr. Chaplin, the Civil Commissioner. Immediate submission and the release of the prisoners was demanded, in which case pardon was offered to all except the principal instigators of the insurrection; and, as the rebels hesitated to accede to these terms, batteries were opened, and a practicable breach effected by the evening of the 4th of December. A flag of truce arrested the assault. The prisoners had been previously set at liberty. The leaders, twelve in number, surrendered, stipulating only that their lives should be spared: some of the most refractory escaped. As soon as Kittur was captured, the popular fermentation ceased, as the insurrection had been the work of an interested party, and involved no question affecting the rights or feelings of the people.

An affair of a somewhat similar character, although originating in a different cause, the contumacy of a refractory Patel, occurred in the same part of the country. The head-man of Omraiz refusing to pay his revenue, and, sheltering himself in a stronghold, from whence his followers committed depredations on the surrounding villages, it became necessary to employ a military force against him. A squadron of the 7th Cavalry, and three hundred men of the 44th N. I. with one six-pounder, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Collette, marched from Sholapore against Omraiz in February, 1825, and attempted to carry the place by blowing the gate open. The attempt failed. The outer and one of the inner gates were forced, but the gun could not be brought to bear upon a third gateway, and the endeavours of the assailants to enter, exposed them to a heavy enfilading fire from the walls of the fort. Lieutenant Phillipson, who led the party, and several of the 44th were killed, and the rest were recalled; operations were suspended; before they could be resumed with effect, the garrison evacuated the fort, and fled to the thickets, where they dispersed. The peace of the country was consequently restored.²

¹ The 4th and 8th L. C. Brigade of Madras and Bombay Artillery, His Majesty's 46th Regiment, 1st Bombay European Regiment, the 3rd, 6th, 14th, and 23rd Regiments N. I.

² An interesting account of the attack on Omraiz is to be found in the East India United Service Journal, March, 1836.

BOOK III The tranquillity of the western Dekhin was more per
 CHAP. V. severingly interrupted by the pretensions and unreason
 1825. ableness of Kshetrapati Karavir, the Raja of Kolapur, young and inconsiderate chief, who boasted a direct descent from Sivaji, and who, under the impulse of impetuous feelings and disorderly habits, committed acts of aggression, which called for the imposition of military restraint. Claiming a right of supremacy over the district of Kagal, which was held by Hindu Rao, the brother-in-law of Sindhia, under a grant, as he maintained from the Peshwa, and independent of Kolapur, the Raja assembled a considerable body of troops, and took forcible possession of the disputed territory. The Bombay Government was disinclined to interfere, although Sindhia urgently remonstrated against the inconsistency of a system, which, while it debarred him from upholding by force of arms, the just rights of a near relation, permitted a petty prince to violate them with impunity. Emboldened by the forbearance, the Raja next attacked the lands of a Zemindar, partly dependent on Satara, partly on the Bombay Presidency; and, being in the field at the head of six thousand horse and foot, and a brigade of guns, levied contributions indiscriminately from the subjects of either state, plundered the villages and murdered the people. Troops were then necessarily sent against him, upon whose approach he retired to Kolapur, whither he was followed by the detachment. Their proximity recalled him to a sense of his inability to resist, and he professed his submission to the will of the Company. He was accordingly compelled to restore the districts he had seized from both Hindu Rao and Satara, to pay a compensation for the damages inflicted by his depredations, and to engage to reduce his military establishment to a scale consistent with a state of peace. A treaty was concluded with him to this effect; but, after the first alarm had subsided, its stipulations were little regarded, and the Raja continued to keep on foot a large body of troops, whose excesses filled his neighbours with apprehension, and rendered it necessary to maintain a vigilant watch upon his proceedings. At length they once more became outrageous; and, in the beginning of 1827, a considerable body of troops

Consisting of the left wing of His Majesty's 41st, the Bombay European

under Colonel Welsh was despatched from Belgam against Kolapur, with the sanction of the supreme Government.¹ The troops advanced again to Kolapur, and occupied the different forts in its vicinity. No resistance was offered; and the Raja, having once more professed submission, a revised treaty was concluded, by which he was prohibited from entertaining a force exceeding four hundred horse and eight hundred foot. Districts formerly granted to him were resumed. Lands seized by him were ordered to be given back, compensation for damage done to different districts was demanded, and territory was sequestered until the amount was paid. British garrisons were stationed in the forts of Kolapur and Panala; and the right of nominating the chief ministers was reserved.² No molestation of any serious description was afterwards experienced from the conduct of the Raja, although his occasional excesses rendered it expedient to keep up the military control until his death and the succession of his son, a minor, under a regency approved of by the Government of India.

To the north-west, disturbances broke out towards the end of 1824, in Cutch, which threatened to assume political importance, from the secret encouragement which the authors of them received from the Amirs of Sindh, who, like the rest of the native princes, catching eagerly at the rumours of disaster suffered by the British Government, were prepared to take advantage of the verification of those reports. Some of the Jhareja chiefs, disaffected to the Regency, and who had been banished for acts of insubordination and rapine, had sought refuge in Sindh, and finding that the British force in Cutch had been much reduced in numbers, they conceived the season propitious for the recovery of their forfeited lands, and the restoration of the deposed Raja, Bharmal Ji, to power. With the connivance of the Amirs, they assembled a body of about two thousand Mianis and Sindhis; and, in the beginning of

Regiment, 49th N. I., eight Companies of the Wallajabad, Light Infantry, 4th and 7th Light Cavalry, and Foot and Horse Artillery. They were joined by detachments, and a battering-train, from Poona.

¹ Colonel Welsh has given an account of the expedition, and of the country, in his *Reminiscences*, ii. 263.

² Definitive treaty with the Raja of Kolapur 15th of March, 1829, ratified by the Bombay Government 18th of July.—*Treaties with Native Powers*, Calcutta, 1845.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

OK III. 1825, crossed the borders, addressing a laconic epistle to the Resident, calling upon him to restore the Raja.¹ The troops in the province were unable to attempt more than the defence of the capital. Meeting with no opposition, the insurgents ravaged the country, and advanced to a strong post in the Hubbai Hills, within a few miles of Anjar, where a portion of them occupied the fort of Balari, and cut off the communication between Bhoj and the rest of the province. A native force, levied by the Regency, and sent to dislodge the rebels from Balari, was defeated, and several Jhareja Chiefs who commanded it were killed. A detachment from the British force at Bhoj was more successful, drove the insurgents out of the fort, rescued their prisoners, and recovered much of their plunder. The absence of this party encouraged the main body of the rebels to make an attack upon Anjar, which was garrisoned only by the troops of the Regency, reinforced by a party of Arab mercenaries. They repulsed the assailants, after a well-maintained struggle. The insurgents retreated to the Kaimal Hills, and, being driven from that position, disappeared in the Run. The countenance shewn to their incursion by the Amirs was not withdrawn upon their repulse, and large bodies of troops continued to be assembled on the frontier, menacing the province under British protection. It became necessary, therefore, so to strengthen the force in Cutch, that it should be capable of repelling any invasion despatched from Kaira and Bombay.² The whole was placed under the orders of Colonel M. Napier. Their strength, and the improved state of affairs in the east, with the success of operations against Bhurtpore, checked the mischief projects of the Amirs of Sindh; and, with the exceptions of their reluctance in uniting to put an end to the course with Sindh reverted to its former tone.

¹ The letter was from Sarak Jas, Mima Joomoo, and others, to Walter. "We are Grasiars: if you will restore Rao Bharmal Ji to the throne, we are all your servants."

² The force when assembled, consisted of a troop of Horse Artillery, Company of Foot: His Majesty's 4th Dragoons, detachments of the 2nd Regiments N. C., His Majesty's 6th Foot, the flank Companies of the European Regiment, the Grenadier Regiment of N. I., and the 3rd, 18th, and 21st Regiments — General Orders, Bombay, 20th September 1825.

These different disturbances, however unimportant in their results, unconnected in their origin, and unmeaning in their objects, were not wholly unworthy of regard, as indications of the feelings entertained by considerable portions of the people in different parts of India towards their rulers. The necessity of an adequate military force to keep down the tendency of refractory chiefs and turbulent tribes to recur to habits of tumult and depredation, was clearly manifested by the disorders which ensued, wherever the regular troops were weakened or withdrawn, as they had been in various places by the exigencies of the war. This disposition was, however, to be expected, and must continue to be experienced, until the people of India become accustomed to acknowledge the supremacy of law over the sword, and the chiefs and people relinquish the use of arms to the disciplined bands of the government. The eager credulity with which the inhabitants of the British provinces received every rumour of discomfiture and every tale of declining resources was a more alarming feature in the complexion of the times, and shewed how little sympathy united the subject and the sovereign, and the satisfaction with which the people were disposed to contemplate the downfall of their rulers.

The ferment which was excited throughout the British territories, by the indistinct reports of the early mischances of the war with Ava, were not confined within their limits, but extended to several of the native Courts, who had been brought under the protection, and at the same time under the supremacy of the Government, by the results of the Pindari war. Although the Princes were freed from the extortion and insolence of military rapacity, the relations established with the British were found to be scarcely less irksome, and the prohibition of international warfare, the shield thrown over their dependents against their tyranny or vindictiveness, and the pecuniary tributes imposed upon them, with the rigid punctuality with which payment was demanded, mortified their extravagant notions of their own dignity and importance, and subjected them to frequent and serious embarrassment. Notwithstanding they owed their security to the control exercised by British interposition, they were

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

K III. most anxious to throw it off; and they were encouraged
AP. V. to expect their being consigned to their own passions and
1825. incapacity, if not from the course of events,¹ yet from the
wavering and uncertain policy which the orders from home
impressed upon their Indian Governments, and which
enjoined the discontinuance of interference with the
internal arrangements of the native powers. The conse-
quences of this vacillation were almost universally mis-
chievous; but as they did not reach maturity until
towards the close of the succeeding administration they
need not be dwelt upon at present. It will be here suffi-
cient to particularise the transactions which took place
with the states of Alwar and Bhurtpore.

Upon the death of Bakhtawar Sing, the last Raja of
Macheri, or, as more usually entitled from this period, the
Raja of Alwar, from the name of his capital, the claimants
for the succession were an illegitimate son and a nephew,
both under age. Each had his partisans; but as they
were nearly balanced, a compromise was effected, which
suspended an actual contest; although it was evidently
an arrangement to which the parties, when old enough to
decide for themselves, were little likely to conform. It was
agreed that Beni Sing, the nephew, should be the nominal
Raja; but that the administration should be exercised by
Balwant Sing, the son, who had been entrusted to the
guardianship of Ahmed Bakhsh Khan, the Nawab of the
neighbouring principality of Ferozpoore under the British
supremacy. The Nawab was originally a soldier of fortune,
in the service of the Raja of Macheri. He had been in-
vested with his chiefship in consequence of his havin
joined the army of Lord Lake, but had maintained
friendly intercourse with his first patron; and on his
death had been appointed the guardian of his son. While
the boys became men, the results which might have be
anticipated occurred. Intriguing individuals and turn
themselves to their respective interests; and many lives
took place at their instigation, in which many lives
lost, and the principals themselves were endangered.
1824, after a serious affray, the son consented to resign

¹ The late Lord Metcalfe, when member of the Supreme Council of C
recorded his opinion that "the Burma war; replaced an extraordinar
tion all over India, amounting to an expectation of our immediate con-

AFFAIRS OF ALWAR.

authority, and retire upon an adequate Jagir; and the nephew became the effective Raja. Whether the act originated in personal feelings of vindictiveness, or in the machinations of the Raja's principal advisers and favourites, an attempt was made to assassinate Ahmed Bakhsh Khan. The assassin was seized, and accused a person named Mulha—a man of low caste but the minister and favourite of the Raja of Alwar—with some other influential individuals of the Court, of having employed him to murder the Nawab. The latter, precluded by the conditions of his connection with the British Government from redressing his own wrongs, appealed to it for protection; and the Raja of Alwar was consequently directed to apprehend the persons accused, and send them to Delhi for trial. At first, the Raja professed himself willing to obey, and affected to place the culprits in confinement. They were soon, however, released even from the show of durance in which they had been held; and Mulha, the principal, was taken into greater favour than before. The representations of the Resident were disregarded; and, finally, a judicial investigation by British functionaries was repudiated as being incompatible with the rights of the Raja, as an independent prince. To uphold this assertion of independence, an armed force was assembled. The fortress of Alwar was put in a state of defence, and active negotiations were opened with Jypore and Bhurtpore, in both of which, dissatisfaction with British policy was busily fermenting. The discontent of Jypore did not come to a crisis for some years. The transactions at Bhurtpore very soon assumed a formidable aspect, and compelled the Government of India to prove to the native powers, that the war with Ava had neither humbled its spirit, nor impaired its strength.

The danger apprehended from the disorders in the neighbouring states had rendered the Rajs of Bhurtpore more unreservedly dependent upon the British Government; and the triumphs of the Marquis of Hastings had confirmed the disposition of the Jant principality to look up to it for protection. The treaty concluded with the Raja Rungit Sing was faithfully observed by his successor, Rungit Sing and Raddo Sing; and the latter relied upon

BOOK I

CHAP. V

1825.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

K III. the Government of India to defend the interests of his son, Bulwant Sing, in the event of his death while the latter was in his minority: accordingly, at his earnest solicitation, the Political Agent at Delhi, Sir David Ochterlony, consented to invest the boy with a Khelat, or honorary dress, as a pledge of the recognition of his right of succession. The Raja's infirm health, and his apprehension of the ambitious designs of his nephew Durjan Sal, were the motives of his request. The investiture was performed at Bhurtpore, early in 1824, by one of the Political Agent's assistants; and a twelvemonth afterwards, Baldeo Sing died while on a pilgrimage to Gowardhan, not without suspicion of poison. The young Raja, about five or six years of age, succeeded under the guardianship of his maternal uncle, Ram Ratan Sing, but the arrangement was soon disturbed; and in the month following the demise of Baldeo Sing, the son of a younger brother of the Raja, Durjan Sal, having seduced the soldiery to join his party, broke into the citadel and killed the guardian, possessed himself of the person of the young Raja, and assumed the direction of affairs. Sir David Ochterlony was not of a temper to suffer the guarantee of the British Government to be violated with impunity, and immediately addressed a proclamation to the Jauts, requiring them to withhold obedience from the usurper, and assuring them of the support of a British force, which he proceeded without delay to assemble at Mathura, on the confines of the Bhurtpore territory. These prompt measures intimidated Durjan Sal from at once setting aside or murdering his cousin; and he professed it to be his purpose merely to retain the regency of the state until the young Raja should arrive at maturity, in compliance with the wishes of the whole of the tribe, who were dissatisfied with the tyrannical conduct of the late Regent. The tone of his correspondence was, however, unsatisfactory: his intentions were evasively indicated, and he declined an invitation to visit the British cantonments, and place young Raja in the hands of the British Agent. Sir Ochterlony determined, therefore, to waste no time in inconclusive negotiation, but to compel Durjan to relinquish his ill-gotten power, by marching against him before he should have had leisure to mature his designs.

collect adherents, and repair and strengthen the fortifications of Bhurtpore. A respectable force was speedily assembled for this purpose, and was about to move against the fortress, when the execution of the project was arrested by the caution of the Supreme Government.

Embarrassed at this period by the continued difficulties and heavy disbursements of the war with Ava, and aware of the unfriendly feeling with which its progress was watched by the native princes of India, the British Government was not unnaturally anxious to avoid a rupture, the consequences of which, in the case of any reverse, might endanger the stability of the British Indian empire. Influenced also by the spirit of the injunctions from home, which so decidedly deprecated interference with the internal affairs of the native principalities, the Governor-General was averse to take part in the adjustment of the succession to Bhurtpore, and disallowed the existence of any obligation to uphold the claims of the minor Raja. The grant of the honorary dress, it was affirmed, was made without the previous sanction of the supreme authority, and without the receipt of the preliminary information that had been required, with regard to the equity of such an acknowledgment. In the absence of any express stipulation to guarantee the succession, the complimentary recognition of the young Raja did not impose upon the British Government the necessity of embroiling itself in the quarrels of the several competitors, or of taking up arms to compel the ruler *de facto* to vacate the throne in favour of the claimant whose title might be the best, but who had been unable of himself to maintain his right. It was observed, also, that Durjan Sal, in his correspondence with the Political Agent, had disavowed the intention of permanently appropriating the paramount authority, and had only claimed the exercise of the regency, to which his relationship to the Raja, his age and his popularity, appeared to give him reasonable pretensions. Should such be the case, the Government would not consider itself warranted in opposing the arrangement by force of arms. Although some of the members of the Council were of opinion that the minor Raja was entitled to the protection of the British Government, and the majority considered

BOOK III. that interference might become indispensable for the pre-
 CHAP. V. servation of tranquillity in Hindustan, the sentiments of
 1826. the Governor-General so far prevailed, that it was resolved
 to countermand the military preparations which had been
 set on foot, and to retract the hostile declarations which
 had been published. Sir David Ochterlony was accordingly
 directed to remand the troops to their stations, to recall
 his proclamations, or to neutralise their effect by issuing
 others in a less menacing tone, and to adopt no measure
 likely to commit the Government to any course of policy
 involving an appeal to arms. These orders were so far
 modified, that the Political Agent was subsequently autho-
 rised to use his discretion in keeping together a part of
 the force assembled at Agra and Mathura as a check upon
 any outrages that might be attempted on the frontier by
 the followers of Durjan Sal.

The immediate consequences of the disapprobation of
 his proceedings expressed by the Government, were the
 resignation by Sir David Ochterlony of his political ap-
 pointments and, a few months afterwards, his death. He
 had attained an advanced age, being sixty-eight years old
 of which fifty had been passed in India, and he had latterly
 laboured under the natural infirmities of declining life;
 but it is not unlikely that the mortification which he ex-
 perienceed on this occasion, and the disappointment of the,
 proud hope he had cherished of seeing Bhurtpore fall
 before him, accelerated his decease. His eminent merits,
 the long period during which he had filled the highest
 military and political stations, the amiableness of his
 temper, and the disinterested generosity of his character,
 had endeared him to a numerous body of the European
 society and natives of Upper India; and their respect for
 his memory was evinced by the erection of a monumental
 column in honour of him, in the neighbourhood of Cal-
 cutta: nor was the Government backward in acknow-
 ledging his worth¹, although their somewhat harsh and

¹ As by the following General Order:—

“Fort William, Political Department, July, 23, 1825. The Right Hon. the Governor-General has learned with great sorrow the demise of Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, resident in Malwa and Rajputana. This melancholy event took place on the morning of the 15th inst. at Meerut, whither he had proceeded for the benefit of change of air. On the eminent military services of Major-General Sir David Ochterlony, it would be superfluous to dilate; they have been acknowledged in terms of the highest praise by successive

peremptory revocation of his measures, and the results to which his sense of undeserved censure indirectly contributed, brought upon them temporary obloquy, both in India and in England. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to admit the wisdom of their hesitation to countenance the hazard of precipitate hostilities. The force assembled by Sir David Ochterlony with the most commendable promptitude and activity, however formidable, was confessedly inadequate to overcome a prolonged and national resistance. His expectations of success, although confidently cherished, were based upon his being able to anticipate the preparations of Durjan Sal, and to advance against Bhurtpore before the fortifications should be fully repaired, and a garrison sufficient to defend them should be collected. He also calculated upon a division of feeling among the Jauts, and the co-operation of a strong party inimical to the usurpation. These were not impossible contingencies; but they were not certainties. Armed men from all the neighbouring territories, including those of the Company, were daily gathering round the banners of Durjan Sal. The actual condition of the ramparts was not very authentically known; and whatever enmity to the usurper might be entertained by a portion of the Jaut tribe, their national spirit, their pride in their former repulse of a British army, and their confidence in the impregnability of Bhurtpore, were not unlikely to have com-

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1826.

Governments; they justly earned a special and substantial reward from the Hon. East India Company; they have been recognised with expressions of admiration and applause by the British Parliament; and they have been honoured with signal marks of the approbation of his Sovereign.

"With the name of Sir D. Ochterlony are associated many of the proudest recollections of the Bengal Army; and to the renown of splendid achievements, he added, by the attainment of the highest honours of the Military Order of the Bath, the singular felicity of opening to his gallant companions, an access to those tokens of royal favour which are the dearest objects of a soldier's ambition. The diplomatic qualifications of Sir D. Ochterlony were not less conspicuous than his military talents. To an admirably vigorous intellect and consummate address, he united the essential requisites of an intimate knowledge of the native character, language, and manners. The confidence which the Government reposed in an individual gifted with such rare endowments, was evinced by the high and responsible situations which he successively filled, and the duties of which he discharged with eminent ability and advantage to the Public Interests. As an especial testimony of the high respect in which the character and services of Major-General Sir D. Ochterlony are held, and as a public demonstration of sorrow for his demise, the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct that minute guns to the number of sixty-eight, corresponding with his age, be fired this evening at sunset, from the ramparts of Fort-William."

BOOK III. bined all parties in sufficient strength to baffle an attack
 CHAP. V. upon the fortress with means inferior to those by which
 1826. it was eventually reduced. The season was also far advanced ; and had the siege been long protracted, it might have become impossible to keep the army in the field. To have failed in the attempt, and been again repulsed from the walls of Bhurtpore, would have been attended in all probability with the most alarming results, and involved the British Government in war with every state from the Punjab to Ava.¹ It was therefore the imperative duty of the Government to weigh deliberately the course to be pursued, and refrain from any hostile demonstrations against Bhurtpore, until every possible precaution had been taken to ensure success.

As long as the military preparations were in activity, the language of Durjan Sal was expressive of submission to the will of the British Government, and of his purpose to rest contented with the office of Regent. When they were suspended, he altered his tone, and assumed the title of Raja ; asserting that his claims to the principality rested not only on the preference of the people, but the avowed intention of Ranadhir Sing, the eldest son and successor of Runjit Sing, to adopt him — an arrangement which gave him priority as the heir of the senior brother. While professing to leave the decision to the Supreme Government, he was busily engaged in preparing to oppose an unfavourable award, and collecting troops and improving the fortifications of Bhurtpore. The neighbouring Rajput and Mahratta states secretly encouraged his projects of resistance ; and they evidently looked to the approaching contest as full of promise for their hopes of shaking off the Company's supremacy. Fortunately there was no leader of renown — no chief of ability qualified to take advantage of these aspirations, and guide and concentrate the energies of his countrymen. Durjan Sal was unequal to the crisis ; he was timid and undecided, indolent and dissolute : he had no reputation as a soldier ; and his adherents had little confidence in his conduct or

¹ In a debate at the India House on the 19th of December, 1826, on the vote of thanks to the army of Bhurtpore, it was observed by Sir J. Malcolm, that if the siege had failed, it would in all human probability have added to the embarrassments of the Burmese War, that of hostilities with almost every State of India.—*Asiatic Monthly Journal*, Jan., 1827.

courage. His younger brother, Madho Sing, who was more popular with the soldiers, had separated from him, and established himself in the fort of Deeg, whence he opened negotiations with the British functionaries, with the view of supplanting Durjan Sal in the Regency. The ferment, however, continued to increase; the usurping chief added daily to his strength, and it became obviously necessary to take vigorous measures for the vindication of the British supremacy.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.
1826.

The chief political authority at Delhi, vacant by the death of Sir David Ochterlony, had been conferred on Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had been called from Hyderabad for that purpose. His presence at Calcutta suggested a reconsideration of the policy to be pursued with regard to the succession of Bhurtpore; and the opinions which he expressed were decidedly favourable to an effective support of the minor Raja, as, although the principle of non-interference had been long and uniformly enjoined by the authorities in England, those in India were continually compelled to deviate from it; for, as the paramount power, it was at once their duty and their wisest policy to put down anarchy and misrule; and, as the best preventive of those evils, to maintain legitimate succession: he therefore recommended that the minor Raja should be acknowledged, and Durjan Sal removed upon a suitable provision. These arrangements might be attempted in the first instance by negotiation; but, in the event of their failure, they should be speedily followed by the employment of an adequate force to compel compliance. These recommendations were adopted by the Governor-General in Council. It was resolved to maintain the succession of the rightful heir by exhortation and remonstrance and should those fail, by arms.¹ Sir C. Metcalfe repaired to Delhi, to carry the resolutions of the Government into effect; and as it was soon apparent that negotiation was unavailing, the army, which had been assembled at Agra and Mathura for eventual operations against Bhurtpore, was put in motion under the direction of Lord

¹ The discussions in the Supreme Government on the resolution finally adopted regarding the succession to Bhurtpore, are described in the Appendix to the Political Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, VI. No. 20, Letter from B. J. Jones, Esq., taken from the Secret and Political Consultations.

BOOK III: Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, whose
 CHAP. V. head-quarters were at Mathura, on the 5th of December 1825.

1826.

The forces which had been collected in the vicinity of the Bhurtpore frontier, consisted of two Regiments of European Cavalry, six of Native Cavalry and Skinner's Irregular Horse, and of three Regiments of European and sixteen of Native Infantry, with strong detachments of Horse and Foot Artillery and Pioneers, and a Battering Train of above a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance. The force, consisting of about twenty-one thousand men of all arms, marched in two divisions; one from Agra, commanded by Major-General Jasper Nicolls, C.B.; the other from Mathura, under the command of Major-General Thomas Reynell, C.B.¹ The force of the garrison was estimated at twenty thousand men; chiefly Rajputs and Jants, with some Afghans: but the greatest security of the fortress was in the height, the thickness, and toughness of its walls, constructed of clay hardened in the sun, upon which the play of the most formidable batteries produced comparatively little effect. In the former siege, a broad and deep ditch materially added to the strength of the fortress; but the besieged were deprived of this source of defence by the prompt and judicious operations of the British Commander-in-Chief.

The two divisions of the army moved on the 7th and 8th of December, and soon crossed the frontier. Before day-break on the 10th, the Mathura division marched, in a northerly direction, at some distance from the fort, and screened from it by an interjacent forest, towards the north-west, which was understood to be the direction of an extensive piece of water, the Moti Jhil, subservient in peaceable times to the irrigation of the lands; but capable of filling the ditches of the fortress in the time of siege by

¹ The Agra Division comprised the first Brigade of Cavalry, consisting of His Majesty's 16th Lancers, and the 6th, 8th, and 9th Regiments of Native Cavalry, and three Brigades of Infantry; the third Brigade, composed of His Majesty's 59th Foot and the 11th and 31st N. I.; the second, of the 33rd, 36th, and 37th N. I.; and the sixth consisting of the 15th, 21st, and 37th Regiments N. I., with three troops of Horse Artillery and the Experimental Brigade. The Mathura Division was formed of the 2nd Brigade of Cavalry, composed of His Majesty's 11th Light Dragoons and the 3rd, 4th, and 10th Regiments of Native Cavalry, and of three Brigades of Infantry, the 1st, 4th, and 5th, composed severally of His Majesty's 14th Foot and 23rd and 63rd N. I. of the 32nd, 41st and 58th N. I., and of the 6th, 18th and 60th Regiments N. I., with Horse and Foot Artillery.

sluices cut through the embankment within which the waters were confined. To prevent the enemy from opening channels through the bank, or to fill up any gaps that might have been made, a column was sent in advance,¹ which successfully accomplished the duty entrusted to it. A small party of the enemy was driven off; sluices, that had been recently opened, were effectually closed; and arrangements were made for retaining possession of the post, which were undisturbed throughout the siege. Except in a few places of little depth or extent, the ditch continued dry.

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.
1826.

The fortress, or rather fortified town, of Bhurtpore is situated in a tract of country generally level, but diversified on the west by a range of barren rocks, and in other directions, by occasional eminences of inconsiderable elevation. The exterior defences, above five miles in circumference, consisted of lofty and thick walls of dried clay, rising from the edge of a broad and deep ditch, flanked by thirty five tower-bastions, of a form and structure scarcely obnoxious to breaching or enfilade, and strengthened by the outworks of nine gateways. Behind the walls, and towering high above them at their northern extremity, rose the bastions of the citadel, attaining an elevation of above a hundred feet, and commanding the town, the outer ramparts, and the adjacent plain. The citadel was defended by a ditch fifty yards broad and fifty-nine feet in depth, and filled with water. Immediately contiguous to the outer ditch, an open esplanade of irregular breadth, but in some places about seven hundred yards across, answered the uses of a glacis. It was encompassed through four-fifths of its circuit by a shallow forest of trees and brushwood—a preserve for wild beasts and various kinds of game.

As the great extent of the fortifications of Bhurtpore precluded the possibility of a complete investment, and as it appeared likely that the most convenient point of attack would be found to be on the north-east face of the fort, the first division took up its ground with its right resting on the reservoir, extending along the northern side

¹ Consisting of detachments of His Majesty's 14th, the 3rd N. I., two squadrons of Dragoons, the 4th Light Cavalry, right wing of Skinner's Horse and a troop of Artillery, and two Companies of Sappers and Miners.

BOOK III. of the fortress, on the outer edge of the wood. The second
 CHAP. V. division, as it came up, formed on the left of the first,
 and fronted the eastern face. A detachment was posted
 1826. to the south, at the village of Mallye, which commanded a
 view of the works; and infantry and cavalry posts were
 gradually established on the southern and western faces,
 within easy communication and support; and the escape
 of the garrison and the admission of reinforcements, were
 thus equally prevented. Attempts were occasionally
 made to break through; but they were generally repulsed.
 The battering train arrived in camp on the 13th of
 December.

The repeated and careful reconnoissances of the engineers having satisfied the Commander-in-Chief, that the most eligible points of attack were, a ravelin on the north-eastern face on the east of one of the principal gateways, the Jangina gate, and a bastion on the east front connected with the ramparts by a narrow projection from which it received its designation of the long-necked bastion, it was determined that regular approaches should be made, in order to erect batteries against the parts selected. With this view, on the morning of the 23rd, two positions were taken up in advance of the main body, and on the edge of the jungle nearest to the fort; one by detachments from the first division, at a garden named after Baldeo Sing; the other, by detachments from the second division, at the village of Kadam Kandy, about three quarters of a mile on the left of the garden. Ground was broken at these situations, under a heavy fire from the fort, and desultory attacks of the enemy's horse and foot. Guns were brought to bear upon the latter; and they were dispersed without much difficulty or injury to the working parties. Batteries were constructed at both positions, and opened on the 24th at day-break. Their fire was briskly replied to by the fort, but by the evening several of the enemy's guns were withdrawn from the outer works, being overmatched by the fire from the batteries. During the following days, the advance of the trenches was diligently pursued, and other and more advanced batteries were constructed; while those first formed were brought nearer to the ditch. The whole mounted thirty-six mortars and forty-eight pieces of heavy ordnance, and for several days kept up a

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1826.

heavy fire of shot and shells, which produced evident dilapidation of the bastions, and caused great destruction and terror in the town. Parties of matchlock men attempted to interrupt the progress of the works, but they were easily driven into the fort, and no vigorous party was undertaken. The fire from the ramparts became however better directed, and a shot reached the residence of the Commander-in-Chief, since it was conjectured, by an artilleryman who had deserted to the enemy. The trenches were, nevertheless, brought close to the counter-scarp of the ditch; and on the 31st the arrangements for mining were commenced.

Although the fire of the breaching batteries produced sensible damage on the ramparts, yet the nature of the materials of which they were composed, as well as their conical outline, prevented their being rent asunder into open chasms or levelled into piles of ruins over which it were easy to clamber; and they merely crumbled into ragged masses, which followed the direction of the acclivity, and rendered it scarcely less steep and inaccessible than it was originally. The result had not been unforeseen; and the attention of the Commander-in-Chief had, from an early period, been directed to the construction of mines, as the most prompt and certain means of ruining defences of the nature of those of Bhurtpore.¹ Although, therefore, the co-operation of powerful batteries was essential in contributing to the demolition of the works, yet

¹ A question has been raised with respect to the claim of two distinguished officers of the Bengal Army to the merit of having originated the plan of mining, viz. the Chief Engineer and the Chief of the Staff. The measure was suggested to Lord Combermere by Major (now Major-General) Galloway, in a memorial addressed to his Lordship when engaged before Bhurtpore, in which he advocated, as far as he was aware for the first time, the plan of breaching bastions, and not by artillery, founding his opinion not only on general principles, but his personal experience. General Galloway having served with distinction at the first siege of Bhurtpore, where he commanded the pioneers, and being known also as the author of a valuable work on the Mud Forts of India. It appears, however, that prior to the receipt of General Galloway's report, prior even to the commencement of the siege, measures to mining had been strongly recommended by Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Forbes of the Engineers, who was on duty at the siege, and who had been trained in England in the theory and practice of mining. The particular plans which he suggested were approved of by the Chief Engineer, and the Commander-in-Chief, and were generally followed in the operations that ensued. There is no doubt, however, that both the communications were independently made, as probably were others of a similar purport; and both these officers therefore were entitled to the credit of having originated recommendations, to the adoption of which the successful operations against Bhurtpore were mainly to be ascribed.

BOOK III, 35th N. I., and the Light Company of the 37th N. I., with
 CHAP. V. a hundred Gorkhas, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel T.
 1826. Wilson, was to attempt the escalade of the north flank
 angle of the long-necked bastion; and a reserve column
 attached to the left main division, consisting of the
 remaining Companies of the 36th and 37th Regiments
 N. I., under Brigadier-General Adams, was appointed to
 menace the Agra Gate. The Cavalry and Horse Artillery
 were posted along the south and west faces of the fortress,
 to intercept such of the enemy as might endeavour to
 escape in that direction.

As soon as the right column heard the order to advance, they rushed up the breach, and speedily gained its summit. They were resolutely charged by the defenders; but the bayonet did its work and quickly cleared the bastion. The column then divided, part following the ramparts to the right, part to the left, driving the garrison before them from every post where they attempted to make a stand with immense slaughter. The right division was joined at the Jangina Gate, by Colonel Delamaine's detachment, which had successfully stormed; but the whole party presently suffered some loss from the explosion of a mine under the gateway. Captain Armstrong of the 14th also was shot. They nevertheless pushed forward along the ramparts, or descended into the town, and destroyed a number of the defenders, until they reached a bastion near the Kumbhir Gate on the western wall. Here they were met by the 59th, part of the left column. The left division of the right attacking column cleared the ramparts between the two breaches, and destroyed a number of the enemy in the town, and at a bridge over the ditch of the citadel. The breach on the left was ascended without much opposition; but when the column reached the summit, a fierce conflict ensued. General Edwards, commanding a subdivision of the column, and Captain Pitman of the 59th, and many of the men, fell under a heavy fire of matchlocks from an adjacent cavalier, which flanked their advance, until the enemy were driven from it by the left division of the right column. They also suffered from guns pointed down the neck of the rampart: but upon these they resolutely rushed and carried them; and then turning to the left, swept the

ramparts round the south until they joined the party of the right column at the Kumbhir Gate, encountering and overcoming a resolute resistance at different points of their route. On their way, they detached parties into the town, and opened the Agra Gate for the advance of General Adam's reserve: and were accompanied by the supporting division of Colonel Wilson, which, having clambered up the ruined ramparts at the re-entering angle, formed by the projecting gorge of the long-necked bastion, under a flanking fire from the bastion on the right, descended into the body of the place, and moving along the town parallel with the ramparts, encountered and destroyed several strong parties of the garrison. After passing the Mathura Gate, the division carried several bastions still occupied by the enemy, and assisted in the complete clearance of the ramparts. The guns of the citadel had inflicted some injury on the assailants during the storm, but ceased firing when the outer works and the town were occupied; and in the afternoon the citadel surrendered. The enemy generally fought with resolution, and their artillerymen mostly fell by their guns. About eight thousand were slain. The total amount of killed and wounded was estimated at fourteen thousand men. The loss of the victors in the assault did not exceed six hundred.¹ As soon as the conflict commenced, strong bodies of Horse and Foot attempted to fly from the devoted fortress through the gates on the western face; but they were intercepted by the cavalry, and many of them were killed or taken prisoners. Amongst the latter were Durjan Sal himself with his wife and two sons. Soon after the assault had taken place, he quitted Bhurtpore by the Kumbhir Gate, with about forty horsemen; and after dispersing a small picquet of cavalry opposed to him, effected his retreat into the adjoining wood, where he remained for several hours. Issuing from the thicket, between three and four o'clock, he had succeeded in passing to the rear of the 8th Native Cavalry, when his party was observed and immediately pursued by the third troop under Lieut. Barbor. The fugitives were soon overtaken and secured without

¹ Europeans and Natives killed, one hundred and three, wounded four hundred and sixty-six, missing eleven. The officers killed were, Brigadier-General Edwards, Captain Armstrong of His Majesty's 14th, Captain Pitman of His Majesty's 59th, and Captain Brown of the 31st Regiment N. I.

BOOK III. utmost; and the tradition of the defeat had impressed
 CHAP. V. upon the natives, whether Prince or people, the conviction
 ————— that Bhurtpore was the bulwark of the liberties of India,
 1826. and destined to arrest the march of European triumph. The disappointment of these expectations, at a moment when it had been widely rumoured that the strength of the British Government was exhausted in a distant and disastrous warfare, diffused a sense of awe and apprehension amongst the native states, and tranquillised, at least for a season, the ferment which had for some time past disquieted Hindustan. It was now felt that resistance was hopeless, and that any opposition to the British power must end in the destruction of its adversary.

The termination of the war with Ava, and the capture of Bhurtpore, relieving the Government from any immediate political duties, the Governor-General availed himself of the opportunity to visit the Upper Provinces, and reanimate by personal intercourse the amicable relations which subsisted with the native princes. Lord Amherst left Calcutta in the beginning of August, and arrived at Cawnpore on the 16th of November, where all the petty chiefs of Bundelkhand waited upon him; and he was visited by the King of Oude. In return, the Governor-General repaired to Lucknow; and an opportunity was afforded him of a confidential communication with the King with respect to the management of his country. However well disposed towards his allies, and receiving the Governor-General with the most cordial hospitality, Ghazi ud din Hyder continued to deny the necessity of any interposition in his affairs; appealing to the flourishing appearance of his country in proof of the success of his administration. In truth, with occasional exceptions, the lands were covered with cultivation, and the people appeared to be contented. The assessment was light; and the revenues were levied without difficulty, although the system of farming them was adhered to, and tended to perpetuate extortion. The unfavourable accounts of the condition of Oude had been much exaggerated.¹ and had

¹ Evidence to the contrary is not wanting. In 1824, a body of irregular horse, marching from Shahabad to Pertabgerh in Oude, could find no spot on which to encamp without injury to the crops; and in the following year, we have the concurrent reports of different officers and travellers, that the vil-

principally originated in the turbulent spirit which prevailed upon the confines of the kingdom bordering on the British districts, where a race of refractory landholders, Rajputs by tribe and soldiers by profession, considered it a disgrace to comply peaceably with the demands of the state, and paid their revenue only to military collectors. The belief that the evil was, in a great measure, of a limited extent, and the strong objections of the king, had latterly induced the government to refrain from urging suggestions of Reform; and their forbearance had been requited by the opportune assistance of the hoarded treasures of Sadat Ali. At the end of 1825, a perpetual loan of a crore of rupees, a million sterling, was made to the Company by the King of Oude, of which the interest, at 5 per cent., was to be paid to members of his family, and in particular to his favourite minister Aga Mir, whom he thus hoped to secure against the animosity of the heir apparent, with whom the minister and king had both been long at variance, although they had latterly, in appearance at least, been reconciled. In the following year, a second loan, of half a million, was lent for a period of two years. The interview with the Governor-General closed the intercourse with the King of Oude. He died in October, 1827. Ghazi ud din Hyder, although indolent and addicted to habits of intemperance, was not devoid of sagacity or judgment: he perfectly well understood the nature of his connexion with the British Government; and in his correspondence with the Governor-General, had not unfrequently the advantage. He was an encourager of letters¹ and the arts; was of a kind and conciliating disposition, and cultivated a friendly familiarity with the successive residents at his court. He was too much under the influence of self-interested advisers, his ministers, and his begums; but his reign was unstained by violence or cruelty; and he afforded a not unfavourable specimen of an Asiatic prince. He was succeeded by his eldest

BOOK III.
CHAP. V.
1826.

ages were populous: no complaints of over-assessment were heard; and the face of the country was a perfect garden, equal to the best cultivated districts in the Company's territories.

¹ A large work, the *Hest Kulzum*, a dictionary of Arabic with a Persian interpretation, in six folio volumes, was compiled and printed at his expense; and copies were presented to the chief public libraries in India and Europe. European artists of different professions were liberally maintained in his service.

BOOK III. son Soliman Jah, who took the title of Nasir-ud-din
CHAP. V. Hydr.

1827.

After passing some days at Lucknow, the Governor-General proceeded to Agra, where he arrived early in January, 1827 — and was there met by all the Chiefs of Malwa, and missions from the Mahratta princes, Holkar and Sindhia. The former was still a minor; and the conduct of the state was vested in the ministers, under the control of the Resident, Mr. Wellesley, who, for many years, exercised with remarkable judgment and efficiency almost unbounded authority over the territory subject to Indore, and through his assistants, over the adjacent countries, whether subject to petty independent princes, or constituting districts belonging to Holkar and Sindhia, which had been placed under the management of British officers. For some time he was steadily seconded by the principal minister, Tantia Jôg, one of the actors in the turbulent scenes that had preceded hostilities in 1819, and who therefore well knew the value of the protection given to the immature years of his sovereign, by the presence of a British Resident. He died in the beginning of May, 1826; but his death made no change in the relations which connected Mulhar Rao Holkar with his allies. The mission from Sindhia was headed by Hindu Rao, the brother of his favourite wife, Baiza Bai. The Raja himself had been long suffering from illness, and his early dissolution was expected. The representations of his ministers, supported by the Resident, urging him to adopt a son and successor, as he had no son of his own, were of no avail in overcoming his reluctance to a measure which was considered essential to perpetuate the existence of the Gwalior state. He declared, that he had no relations in whom he was interested, or among whom he could select an eligible object of adoption; and he was satisfied to leave the future to the determination of the British Government, who might make whatever disposition they thought best. The real cause of his reluctance, however, was his attachment to Baiza Bai, who had long exercised an imperious influence over his mind, and to whom he wished to bequeath the substantial authority of the state although the opposition of the principal persons of his court, and probably some misgivings of the result, deter-

him from declaring her his successor.¹ Dowlat Rao BOOK III.
Sindhia died in March, 1827. He had reigned thirty-three CHAP. V.
years, during the first ten of which he was virtual sovereign of the greater part of Hindustan, holding in subject-
ion Delhi and its titular monarch, the upper part of the
Ganges, and the larger portion of Bundelkhand and Malwa,
receiving tribute from the princes of Rajputana, dictating
laws to his nominal superior, the Peshwa, and having at
his command a formidable force, not only of the national
army, light cavalry, and a host of irregular foot, but of
well-disciplined battalions, and an imposing train of one
hundred and forty pieces of artillery directed by European
officers. His fatal quarrel with the British Government
debilitated his army, and transferred to his enemies all
his territories in Hindustan. The Pindari war may have
suggested to him the possibility of recovering some of his
lost domains; and the hope, concurring with his supposed
right to the head of the Mahrattas, seduced him into a
temporary deviation from the cautious line of policy which
he had till then pursued, and exposed him to a further
diminution of his power. The penalty, however, was not
averted, and, satisfied with his escape, Dowlat Rao devoted
himself thenceforward to indolence and amusement,
and indulged no longer in dreams of political importance.
He seems also to have discarded all feelings of resentment
against those to whom he owed his humiliation, and to
have confided implicitly in the good will of the British
Government, whose representatives were admitted to his
intimacy, almost to his friendship.²

Shortly after the demise of Sindhia, a paper was pro-
duced, purporting to contain the expression of his last
wishes, agreeably to which an heir was to be adopted, but
an indefinite regency was to be entrusted to Baiza Bai,
for whom the protection of the Company was solicited.
The document proved to be supposititious, but it was ad-

Sindhia, in a conference with the Resident, intimated another although
altogether dissimilar motive. If a son were adopted by him, the custom
of the Mahrattas required that the adoptive mother should be the senior of the
sons—who was not Baiza but Rukma Bai; and the latter was notoriously
unfit for the office of Regent, which would have devolved on her as the mother
of the minor Raja. Sutherland's Sketches, 155.

The report of the Resident, Major Stewart, represents in so interesting a
manner, the circumstance of Sindhia's decease, and with so just an apprecia-
tion of his character, that it is highly worthy of perusal. It is given in the
appendix iii.

BOOK III. mitted to be evidence of the Raja's intentions; and the
 CHAP. V. adoption of a son, and the regency of the Bāi, were au-
 1827. thorised under a general assurance of protection. Five
 boys remotely related to Sindhia, were brought to Gwalior
 from the Dekhin, of whom, Mukht Rao, a lad of eleven
 years of age, the son of an obscure individual, descended
 from the common ancestor of the family, was selected,
 with the approbation of the Resident. He was forthwith
 affianced to the grand-daughter of Sindhia by Baiza Bāi,
 and was placed upon the cushion of sovereignty, on the
 18th of June, 1827. At Sindhia's death, the pension paid to
 him by the British Government, of four lakhs of rupees a
 year, ceased; and, as this had furnished the principal
 fund for the regular pay of the contingent commanded by
 British officers, and constituting the only force in the
 service of Gwalior upon which dependence could be
 placed, it was necessary to provide other means of meet-
 ing the expence. After some negotiation, the Regent Bāi,
 with an ulterior view to her own interests, consented to
 advance to the Company, a loan or deposit of eighty lakhs
 of rupees, the interest of which at five per cent. was to be
 applied to the payment of the contingent force. The ar-
 rangement thus accomplished, involved the seeds of
 future dissension; but the minority of the adopted suc-
 cessor, obviated their immediate development.

From Agra, the Governor-General, after a visit to the
 young Raja of Bhurtpore, continued his journey to Delhi,
 where the envoys of the different Rajput states attended
 his durbar. With the chief of these, especially Jaypur,
 complicated questions of policy had for some time sub-
 sisted, arising out of the fluctuating and uncertain manner
 in which British interposition was exercised, the wish and
 at the same time the difficulty of withdrawing from it.
 The solution of the problem continued equally to occupy
 the consideration of the succeeding administration; and as
 the most important events which sprang from it, belong to a
 later date, an account of them may be reserved for a future
 occasion. The interviews which took place with the fallen
 majesty of Delhi, were, upon this occasion, regulated with
 the most minute precision; and the dignity of the Go-
 vernor-General was scrupulously asserted. The King, by
 the concessions to which he yielded, indulged the hope of

procuring an addition to his pecuniary resources, on the ground of the improved revenues of the assigned territories. He was disappointed in his expectations. The assignment of any specified territory was denied; and the limitation in the original paper, which was declared to be a paper of intentions, and not any engagement, by which it was proposed, that if the revenues admitted the Royal stipend should be augmented to a lakh of rupees a month, fixed the amount of any future augmentation: but, whatever conditions might have been thought to exist at an earlier period, they were superseded by the arrangements concluded in 1809, when a fixed money grant was assigned without any reference to territorial revenue. His majesty was by no means satisfied with this decision, and appealed from it to the authorities in England, not wholly without success; as, although the existence of the engagement was disallowed, an accession to his stipend was authorised, by which it was to be raised to the sum of fifteen lakhs a year: the circumstances which induced his majesty to decline acceptance of the increase belong to a later period.

After leaving Delhi, Lord Amherst repaired to Simla on the lower range of the Himalaya, now for the first time the temporary residence of the Governor-General of British India. During his residence, friendly missions were interchanged with Ranjit Sing, whose career of conquest was for a time checked by the insurrection of his Afghan subjects on the west of the Indus, at the call of Syed Ahmed, a fanatical Mohammedan. This man, originally a trooper in the service of Amir Khan, departed for Delhi, when the predatory force of that chief was disbanded, and there set up for a reformer of the faith of Islam, professing to restore it to its original purity, and to divest it of all idolatrous and superstitious innovations. Wholly illiterate himself, he found men of learning to advocate his doctrines; and he speedily obtained proselytes and followers. After a visit to Calcutta, and a pilgrimage to Mecca, which added to his reputed sanctity, Syed Ahmed returned by way of the former city, to the Upper Provinces, and, after some interval, appeared in the Punjab, where, in December, 1826, he proclaimed a holy war against the infidel Sikhs. That his cause should have found numerous adherents among the Afghans, who had

BOOK III. been compelled to an enforced subjection to Sikh do-
 CHAP. V. minion was to have been expected; but the enterprise
 1827. excited a strong interest among the Mohammedans
 throughout India, and from every principal town where
 they formed a portion of the population — from Delhi,
 Lucknow, Surat, Hyderabad, and even from Madras and
 Calcutta, contributions of money and jewels were des-
 patched to him; and the younger and more adventurous
 marched to enlist under his banners. His forces were
 thus raised to between thirty thousand and forty thou-
 sand men; but their undisciplined and ill-organised fan-
 aticism was unequal to resist the more steady valour of
 the Sikh battalions, and they were defeated with great loss
 at Naushera, near the Indus, by the army of Ranjit, under
 Budh Sing. The insurgents were for a time dispersed;
 but they again collected, and, for several years, main-
 tained a partial and desultory warfare. Quarrels among them-
 selves reduced their numbers and impaired their strength;
 and early in 1831, Syed Ahmed was defeated and slain, in
 an action with a Sikh detachment commanded by the
 prince Shir Sing. His death put an end to the con-
 test.¹

During the residence of the Governor-General in the
 mountains, hostilities of a different character, in which
 the interests of India were concerned, although remotely,
 broke out between Russia and Persia. The direct inter-
 course of the Court of Persia with the English Cabinet of
 St. James's, was no longer recommended by any political
 advantage, and was found to be productive of much incon-
 venience and embarrassment. It was therefore resolved
 to revert to the former channel of communication — to
 discontinue the appointment of a Chargé d'Affaires on the
 part of the Crown — and to despatch an envoy to Tehran
 in the name of the East India Company. Upon the first
 proposal of this arrangement to the king, Futteh Ali Shah
 treated it as an indignity offered to his person, and refused
 to admit an envoy from the Indian Government. Being
 assured, however, that in that case no British representa-
 tive would be appointed to his Court, and unwilling to
 lose the support of a British officer in the impending rup-

¹ Prinsep's Life of Ranjeet Sing, 145. McGregor's History of the Sikhs
 1. 196.

ture with Russia — importuned also by the urgent representations of his eldest son, Abbas Mirza — he yielded, after some delay, a reluctant acquiescence, and consented to send an agent to Bombay to conduct the mission to his capital. Lieut.-Colonel Macdonald, who had been appointed envoy since 1824, and had been directed to await the issue of the negotiation at Bombay, proceeded accordingly, and joined the camp of the Shah at Ahar in September, 1826. He found the Persians engaged in hostilities with Russia, and claiming that pecuniary assistance to which they considered themselves entitled by the Definitive Treaty concluded at Tehran in 1814 in the event of an unprovoked attack upon Persia by a European power.¹ Admission of the justice of the claim depended upon the determination of the question — Who in the present instance was the aggressor?

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1827.

Upon the termination of the preceding war with Russia, a boundary line between the two countries had been laid down in a general and vague manner; and its precise direction was left to be adjusted by commissioners appointed on either side. In the course of the adjustment, many differences and delays arose, which were reciprocally imputed to intentional obstructions, and were the topics of mutual ill-will and recrimination. The cabinet of St. Petersburg pertinaciously objected to the only arrangement by which a settlement of the dispute was feasible — the arbitration of British officers; and the frontier remained in consequence undetermined. The tribes situated in the disputed tracts, subject to no recognised control, transferred their allegiance at their pleasure to either of the parties, and were the cause of frequent annoyance to both. Their chiefs were also encouraged, when they had

¹ The 4th Article of the Treaty of Tehran, ran thus: — "It having been agreed by an Article in the preliminary Treaty concluded between the high contracting powers, that in case of any European nation invading Persia, should the Persian government require the assistance of the English Government, the Governor-General of India, on the part of Great Britain, shall comply with the wish of the Persian Government, by sending from India the force required, with officers, ammunition, and warlike stores; or, in lieu thereof, the English Government shall pay an annual subsidy, the amount of which shall be regulated in a Definitive Treaty to be concluded between the high contracting parties; it is hereby provided, that the amount of the said subsidy shall be two hundred thousand tomans annually. It is further agreed, that the said subsidy shall not be paid, in case the war with such European nation shall have been produced by an aggression on the part of Persia." — Treaties printed by order of the House of Commons, 11th March, 1839.

BOOK III. incurred the displeasure of the officers of one state, to
CHAP. V. seek an asylum within the limits of the other, and were
protected against the consequences of their contumacy.
1827. It were difficult to decide which was most to blame.
Apparently neither was actuated by a sincere desire to
conclude a definitive settlement. Abbas Mirza, the eldest
son and acknowledged successor of Futteh Ali Shah, who
governed the frontier provinces of Azerbijan, relinquished
with great reluctance any portion of his country, and
trusted to the occurrence of some favourable opportunity
for recovering the territory which the preceding war had
wrested from Persia ; while the Cabinet of St. Petersburg,
steadily pursuing its system of progressive encroachment,
silently countenanced the dilatory proceedings of its com-
missioners in determining the boundary question. It had
gone farther, and had occupied a strip of land on the
north-west of the Gokcha Lake belonging, by its own
admission to Persia—in retaliation, it was affirmed, of
the Persian appropriation of a tract between the Chudao
and Kapanek rivers, which, by the treaty of Gulistan, had
been expressly assigned to Russia. The latter power,
however, proposed to exchange the disputed districts ;
but the transfer was objected to by Abbas Mirza, on the
ground that the command of the Gokcha Lake, would
facilitate any attack of the Russians on Erivan, a strong
fortress, held by a chief who acknowledged allegiance to
Persia, and had always been the unrelenting enemy of the
Russians. Whilst the subject was under discussion, the
Russians extended their posts to the south of the lake,
and took possession of the whole of its circuit, refusing to
withdraw their troops without the orders of the Emperor.
Abbas Mirza was, in consequence, ordered to the frontier
with a military force ; and the division of his army crossed
the boundary, and forcibly dislodged the Russian posts
from the borders of the Gokcha Lake. The appearance
of a Persian army was the signal for a general rising of the
tribes of Karabagh, Shirwan, and Daghistan, who were
unwilling subjects of Russia ; and they joined the prince
in great numbers. General Yermoloff, the Governor of
Georgia, unprepared for the aggression, was too weak to
repel it. The negotiations which had been pending, had
been, nevertheless, uninterrupted ; and Prince Menzikoff

had been sent to Tehran, to effect an amicable arrangement with the Shah, when the rashness of Abbas Mirza put an end to the prospect of a pacific agreement. Although, therefore, the encroachments of Russia were of a nature to provoke the resentment of the Persian court, yet as long as an apparent readiness to submit its pretensions to a capital adjustment was manifested, no sufficient excuse was furnished for actual hostilities; and the charge of aggression was fairly ascribed, either to the selfishness or the policy of Abbas Mirza. The British court, therefore, objected to the payment of the subsidy as not being conformable to the terms of the treaty; and Persia was compelled to enter on the war on her own responsibility, and with her own unaided resources.

Some unimportant successes attended the first movements of the Prince. A Russian battalion was surprised and defeated, and the town of Slasha was surrendered. Abbas Mirza then detached a strong division, under the command of his eldest son, Mohammed Mirza, towards the frontier of Georgia; but the Prince was met by a Russian force under General Maistroff, at the village of Shirdalan, and completely routed. To repair the consequences of this disaster, the prince raised with all his forces, estimated at thirty thousand horse and as many foot, with forty-five pieces, against Ganga, which Maistroff had occupied, and where he had been joined by General Paskevitch, with his division. Although the Russians were greatly inferior in number, the fire from their artillery was so destructive, that the Persians attempted in vain to charge them; and, after sustaining severe loss, they broke and dispersed. Abbas Mirza, with not more than ten thousand men, retreated to Asplanduz, leaving the line of the Aras open to the enemy. The river was crossed, and the Russian General had advanced to within sixty miles of Tabriz, when he hesitated to follow up his advantage, and fell back to retain possession of Karabagh. At the same time, some desultory incursions, which had been attempted on the Georgian frontier by the Sirdar of Erivan, had terminated in the discomfiture of the Persians; and no doubt could be entertained of the result, when the whole available strength of Russia should be applied to the conflict.

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1827.

BOOK III. under the Russian dominion, indicated the extreme un-
 CHAP. V. popularity. Notwithstanding the impending danger, the
 1827. Shah was with difficulty prevailed upon to part with any of his hoarded treasures in order to provide the pecuniary indemnification. The Russians, at first, demanded fifteen Crores of Tomans, but after a time, reduced the sum to eight, of which six and a half were to be paid forthwith: but the king obstinately refused to advance more than six;¹ and hostilities were on the point of being renewed. Arrangements were, however, devised for supplying the deficiency; one of which was the payment of two hundred thousand Tomans by the Indian Government, as an equivalent for the final abrogation of the articles of the Treaty of Tehran, which provided for a conditional subsidy.² This impediment being surmounted, a treaty of peace was concluded on the 23rd of February, 1828, at Turkmanchai, by which the Khanats of Erivan and Nakchivan, with the fortress of Abbasabad, were ceded to Russia; and a frontier line, generally following the course of the Aras to the Caspian Sea, was established. Besides this loss of territory, the result of the war was the complete prostration of Persia before the power of Russia, and the loss of that influence which the British Mission had hitherto enjoyed. The subservience of Persia to Russia is, however, but the concession of weakness to force; and inspires in the minds of the natives of Persia no other sentiments than those of resentment and animosity. The decline of British influence is no subject of regret in a political point of view; for the alliance of so feeble a state could never have added to the security of India, and might have been the cause of embarrassment to Great Britain. The chief author of this last and fatal struggle with Persia, Abbas Mirza, died at the end of 1833. The support of Russia, and concurrence of England, secured the acknowledgment of his son, Mohammed Mirza,

¹ These are the sums specified in the public despatches; but the crore must have a very different value from that attached to it in India, where it denotes ten millions. A toman is equal to about twenty-four-shillings, which would make the Russian claim, therefore, equivalent to above a hundred and fifty millions sterling; an impossible sum: and, in fact, their first demand is stated in English money by the authority referred to, at £4,150,000; the sum paid will have been little more than two millions.

² The articles were cancelled by agreement with Abbas Mirza, ratified by the Shah. March, 1828.—Treaties printed by order of the House of Commons, 11th March, 1839.

their apparent, and his eventual succession to the throne

BOOK III.

CHAP. V.

1827.

The Governor-General quitted the hills at the end of the year, and returned in October to Calcutta; where the remainder of his residence in Bengal was occupied in carrying forward the measures that had been long in process for the amelioration of the internal administration of the British provinces. The short duration of his government, and the absorbing interest of the war with Ava, had unavoidably interfered with due attention to internal improvement; but it had not been overlooked; and the several Presidencies had been diligently engaged, in proportion to their opportunities, in providing for a variety of important objects. In Bengal, the attention of the government was mainly taken up by a laborious revision of past proceedings, or in devising plans for the future, which were brought into full effect under the succeeding administration. We have already had occasion to notice the former, in adverting to the despatch of the Bengal Government of February, 1827, in reply to the several communications received from the Court of Directors, between that date and 1814, on the subject of the judicial Institutions of the Presidency of Bengal. In his letter, the measures suggested by the Court, in 1814, for the remedy of the defects in the judicial system, in the three branches, civil, criminal, and police, so strongly commented upon in the Fifth Report of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1812, were taken into careful consideration, after a reference to all the principal judicial and revenue local authorities. The remedial arrangements recommended by the Court, resolved themselves into three heads:—1. The extended employment, in the distribution of civil justice, of native agency, and especially in the form of Panchayats, and of individuals possessing authority or influence, as the headmen of villages, opulent landowners, and the like. 2. The limitation of appeals, simplification of process, reduction of expense, and establishment of a new court of Sudder Diwani Adaulut: and, 3. The transfer from the judicial to the revenue authorities, of claims regarding land, disputes concerning boundaries, and the interchange of written engagements between the landowners and the ryots.

BOOK III. the past arrangements in the several departments of the
 CHAP. V. Judicial Administration, especially with a view to shew
 1827. that no evil had arisen from the reduction of the provincial or Zilla courts, superintended by the Company's servants, and that the greatest benefits had resulted from the extended activity of the District Native Judges. In order, however, to provide for the more ready access of the people to the superior Courts, and to train up a body of judicial servants for the higher departments, auxiliary courts were instituted under European assistant judges, with full civil and criminal powers, but with certain limitations as to local jurisdiction;¹ and, shortly afterwards, courts were established with the same powers and limitations under native judges,² to whom both a civil and criminal jurisdiction was intrusted over all persons within the districts placed under their authority, except Americans and Europeans. A regulation was also enacted in the same year³ for the gradual introduction of trial by jury into the criminal judicature of the territories subject to the Presidency of Fort St. George. The juries were to be summoned at the gaol-deliveries of the courts of circuit at the discretion of the judges. They were to be chosen from among respectable inhabitants of the district, whether Mohammedans or Hindus, with certain specified exemptions agreeably to lists to be prepared by the officers of the court. A jury was to be composed for each trial of not fewer than eight, nor more than twelve members, the agreement of two-thirds of the number was essential to the verdict; a pecuniary allowance of one rupee a day was granted to each juror while in attendance on the court. At Madras, however, as well as in Calcutta, where a similar measure was subsequently adopted, service on

¹ Regulation I. XI. 1827. They were appointed at first in the districts forming the jurisdiction of the Zilla Courts of Canara, Malabar, Cuddapa, Madura, Salem, and Masulipatam. While proposing the arrangement, Sir T. Munro remarks, "It is not more courts that are wanted for the protection of the ryots from exaction, and of the inhabitants in general from theft and robbery, but more systematic experience, and consequently more aptitude among our local officers, both Native and European, for the discharge of their several duties."—Minute of the President, 30th Jan., 1827.—Report, Comm. Judicial, App. 233.

² They were empowered subsequently to decide civil suits to the extent of five thousand rupees. Section V. of Regulation I. 1827, which affixed that limit for the auxiliary court being equally applicable to the native court, by Regulation VII. 1827, Sect. V. Criminal Judicature was assigned to the native judges by Regulation VIII. of the same year.

³ Regulation X. 1827.

juries was felt by the natives to be a grievance, rather than a privilege; and in neither presidency has it ever been fully carried into operation.¹

The progress of improvement in the civil administration of Madras, which had derived its chief impulse from the active and able superintendence of Sir Thomas Munro, was interrupted by his death. It had been his wish to have resigned his office at an earlier period, when the commencement of the war with Ava imposed upon him the duty of remaining at his post. During the war, he was indefatigable in promoting the objects of the expedition, and in furnishing men and supplies from Madras for the prosecution of hostilities. As soon as peace was restored, he renewed the expression of his earnest desire to be relieved, and anxiously solicited the appointment of a successor. A delay of a twelvemonth intervened between his resignation and the selection of the Hon. J. Lushington to take his place; and in the interval, an attack of Cholera disappointed his hopes of enjoying in his native land the retrospect of a long and honourable career of public duty. He died at Putecondah, in the Ceded districts, on the 6th of July, 1827. Of the many servants of the East India Company who have risen to merited distinction, none more richly deserved the honours with which his service had been rewarded, and the esteem which had accompanied him through life, or the universal sorrow which lamented his decease.²

Still greater activity was exhibited in the task of legislation at Bombay under the direction of the Governor, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, and, in the course of 1827, a series of regulations was promulgated, constituting a complete code of the enactments of the Government, under the several heads of Civil and Criminal Law, Police, Revenue and Miscellaneous subjects. These regulations superseded all previous enactments. They were

¹ "With regard to the introduction of native juries, the Court of Directors have approved of the hesitation of this Government to adopt the measure, and of the suspension of the Regulation passed for the purpose of introducing it."—Minute by the Governor of Madras, Sept. 1830.—Report Comm. House of Commons, General Appendix III. p. 264.—Regulations I. to XXIX. 1827.

² The General Orders of the Madras Government, the resolutions of a numerous meeting of the European and Native community, and the resolutions of the Court of Directors bear concurrent testimony to the worth of his private and public character.—Life of Sir T. Munro, ii. p. 207.

BOOK III. based, as far as was practicable, upon native institutions,
 CHAP. V. and large powers were assigned to native functionaries.¹

1827. The operation of these regulations was at once extended to the Company's possessions in the Dekhin and Kandesh,² and subsequently to the southern Mahratta country, in which the regulations of the Government had not previously been current. Of the merits of the code, we have authentic testimony, after three years' experience, shewing, that, while it was intelligible to the people, it was well adapted to their habits and condition, and admitted them to a full share of every branch of the administration of the country.³

The immense expenditure of the war with Ava had seriously deranged the financial prosperity of British India, and compelled the Government to have recourse to extensive loans in aid of the ordinary resources. A loan of about nine crores, or nine millions sterling, at five per cent. per annum, was raised in 1823-4; and another of above ten millions, at the same rate, in 1825-6: a loan of four per cent. was opened in 1825-6: but a large portion of it was absorbed by the five per cent. loan of the following year. About two crores and a half were drawn from the treasury at Lucknow, and a number of native chiefs and bankers were also induced at the same time to lend considerable sums to the state, affording a satisfactory proof of their confidence in the stability of the Government.⁴ A large portion of these loans was applied to discharge other outstanding debts; but the general result was a considerable augmentation of the public burthens; and an excess of charge exceeding one million

¹ Native commissioners might be appointed in each Zilla for the trial of civil causes to the extent of five thousand rupees.—Regulation II. 1827, chap. IV. This limitation was abolished by Regulation I. 1830; and the jurisdiction of native commissioners was extended to the decision of original suits of whatever amount, with certain exceptions. The native collectors of districts, and the head-men of villages, were entrusted with charge of the police under the authority of the magistrate, Regulation XII. ch. I. V. and VI., and magisterial powers, including infliction of punishment under specified limitations, were conferred upon landholders, Regulation XV. The duties of native collectors, and of hereditary village officers, inclusive of accountants, were defined in Regulation XVI.

² Regulations XXIV, 1827.

³ Minute by Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, 1st. Nov. 1830.—Report Comm. House of Commons, Judicial Appendix, 447.

⁴ For instance, the Raja of Nagpore advanced five lakhs, the Raja of Benares two, the Bankers, Lukshmichund and Mantram, nine and a half. Even the Ex-peshwa was prevailed on to refund part of the savings from his pension, and Baji Rao assisted his depositors with several lakhs of rupees.

sterling, in addition to the territorial expenses defrayed in England, which, in the year 1827-8, exceeded two millions.¹ The financial prospects of the country were consequently of a most alarming complexion, and demanded the most careful scrutiny, with a view to the better adjustment of the expenses to the resources of British India.

The expected consolidation of the ecclesiastical establishment was interrupted by the premature loss of two prelates in succession, who had followed Dr. Middleton in the see of Calcutta. The first of them, Reginald Heber, brought with him an enquiring mind, a highly cultivated intellect, and a benevolent spirit, which were fitted to exercise the most beneficial influence over the Christian community. He arrived in Calcutta in October, 1823, and in June of the following year proceeded on his visitation of the stations in the Upper Provinces, and travelled across Central India to Bombay, visiting Ceylon on his way to Bengal, whither he returned in October, 1825. In the beginning of 1826, he visited the Madras provinces; and, in the hottest period of the year, repaired to Tanjore and Trichinopoly: at which latter station, on the 3rd of April, apparently from the effects of exposure to the climate acting upon an excitable temperament, he terminated his blameless and useful career.² He was succeeded

¹ The revenues of India in the year 1827-8 amounted to £22,563,000, the charges to £21,974,700, leaving a surplus receipt of £589,000; but the interest of the public debt amounted to £1,918,000, and consequently there was a local deficit of £1,029,000.—East India Accounts, May, 1832. From the same documents and others printed by the Committees of both Houses, 1830-1832, we are enabled to make a comparison between the financial circumstances of 1823-4, and 1827-8: there are some discrepancies between the different statements, but the difference is not considerable.

	Revenues.	Charges.	Surplus.
1822-3	£23,118,000	£18,406,000	£4,712,000
1827-8	22,563,000	21,974,000	589,000
	Principal.	Interest.	Increase.
Debt. 1			
1822-3	£29,388,000	£1,762,000	Prim. £10,218,000
1827-8	39,606,000	1,918,000	Int. 156,000

The increased rate of charge was partly owing to the war; having risen in 1825-6, to more than twenty-two millions, of which in that year the increase of the military charges amounted to £1,500,000; in the preceding year it was much the same, or £1,240,000. There had been, however, a considerable and progressive growth of the civil charges also.

² Bishop Heber has left an imperishable record of his powers of observation in the journal of his travels, published posthumously. Although disfigured by some unimportant and venial mistakes, and some erroneous appreciation of existing institutions, the journal presents upon the whole a faithful, and at the same time, a lively picture of the condition of the country and the manners of the people.

BOOK III. in the see of Calcutta by Dr. James, to whom a still more
 CHAP. V. contracted term of episcopal activity was granted, or from
 ————— January, 1828 to July, 1828 ; and his successor, Dr.
 1827. Turner, was not permitted a much more prolonged exercise of his sacred functions. Arriving in India in October, 1829, he ended his days there in the middle of July, 1830. The shortness of the periods during which these prelates presided over the church of India, precluded them from the opportunity of effecting any material development of its organisation ; but their concurrent efforts tended to raise its character, and extend its influence, and to give encouragement and animation to the extension of the teaching of Christianity.

The diffusion of education among the natives of India was also diligently fostered by the judicious encouragement which it received from Earl Amherst's administration. Collegiate institutions were founded at Agra and at Delhi, and schools established in various provincial towns, upon the principles which had hitherto prevailed ; the improved cultivation of those studies which were held in estimation by the people, by grafting upon them the accuracy of European information ; and the extended cultivation of the English language wherever circumstances were propitious to its acquirement : very extraordinary progress was made in this branch of study.¹

Among the minor objects which engaged the interest of the Government of Bengal, was the equipment of a vessel to verify the reported locality of the wreck of the celebrated navigator La Perouse, no vestiges of whose disappearance had yet been discovered. Capt. Dillon, commanding a country merchant vessel, trading between South America and Bengal, came upon a small island in the Pacific Ocean, from which he obtained various articles that attested the former presence of some French ship ; of the wreck of which, on the coral reefs surrounding the island, traditions

¹ The pupils of the Vidyalaya, or the institution founded by the native Hindus of Calcutta, were made familiar with the best authors in the English language, and acquired a critical knowledge of their merits. They were thoroughly instructed in the leading facts of history and geography, and in the elements of physical science. Some of them made a considerable advance in mathematics. That some of them possessed also the power of expressing the results of their studies in correct, idiomatic, and even eloquent, English, was evinced in several periodical publications. See also a volume of English poems by Kali Prasad Ghose.

were preserved by the inhabitants. In order to obtain more positive evidence, Capt. Dillon was placed in command of a vessel of the Government, and sent back to procure any additional indications that might be obtainable, as well as to verify the reported existence of some of the survivors of the wreck. None of the latter were found; but an ample variety of arms and ship furniture was collected, which had clearly belonged to a French vessel of war, and which were finally identified in France as having been on board the vessels commanded by La Perouse, thus establishing the island of Vanikoro as the scene of his unhappy fate.

In these and similar powerful occupations terminated the government of Lord Amherst: a government which could not be charged with a spirit of ambition or of martial enterprise; but which had nevertheless effectually checked the aggressions of the Burmas; had widely extended the confines of the British territory; and by the capture of Moulmein, effaced the only stain that tarnished the brilliancy of the military reputation of British India, and dispelled the vain belief of the natives, that there was at least one impregnable bulwark against its progress. The commencement of Lord Amherst's administration was a season of unexpected trouble and anxiety. It closed in settled order and durable tranquillity; and although these important objects were not achieved without proportionate sacrifices and heavy financial embarrassment, yet there was every reason to hope that the evil was transient, and that the succeeding administration would be freed from every risk of interruption in the prosecution of these economical reforms and internal improvements which had been already commenced. The departure of Lord Amherst was accelerated by the illness of a member of his family; and he sailed for England early in February, 1828, without awaiting the arrival of his successor.

* Capt. Dillon was allowed to convey the articles he had collected to France, where they were recognised as having belonged to the French vessels *Bonsole* and *Astruc*; and he was in consequence created by Charles X. a chevalier of the Legion of Honour with a pension for life. His despatches were confirmed by the subsequent visit of Capt. D'Urville, commanding the French corvette, the *Atalante*, in February, 1829. — *Voyage de l'Atalante. Histoire*, tome 2, p. 124 et suiv.

CHAPTER VI.

Lord W. Bentinck appointed. — Prior to his arrival, Mr W. B. Bayley, Governor-General. — First Measures of Lord W. Bentinck. — Economical Reform. — Reduction of Military Allowances, or Half-Batta Retrenchment. — Great unpopularity of the Reduction. — Memorials against it referred to the Court of Directors. — Orders to maintain it. — Appointment of Committees of Finance. — Reductions effected. — Improvement of Sources of Revenue. — Attempt to limit the Production of Malwa Opium. — Treaties with Native Princes. — Evils and Insufficiency of the Plan. — Abandoned. — Opium Passes granted. — Successful. — Investigation of Rent-free Tenures. — Origin of Exemptions. — Recognised by the British Government. — Regulations for investigating Invalid Titles. — Appointment of Special Commissioners. — Petition against the Enactment. — Change of System in uniting Judicial and Revenue Functions. — Appointment of Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit, — Advantages of Simplification, — Defects of the Plan, — its Failure. — Alterations in Civil Justice. — Extended Employment of Native Judges. — Second Court of Appeal appointed, and Deputation of Revenue Board at Allahabad. — Abolition of Suttee, — previous Measures of the Government to restrain the Practice, — their Insufficiency. — Civil and Military Officers consulted by Governor-General, — Difference of Opinion, — Arguments against Abolition, — those in favour of it, — Resolution of the Governor-General to prohibit Suttees, — Regulation to that effect, — no Resistance offered, — prohibited at Madras and Bombay. — Petition of Hindus of Bengal against the Regulation, — Counter Petition, — Appeal to the King in Council, — read before the Privy Council, — Appeal dismissed, — prohibited by some of the Native States. — Enactments securing Hereditary Rights of Converts from Hinduism. — Judicial and Revenue Enactments at Madras and Bombay. — Discontinuance of Separate Legislation. — Dispute with Supreme Court at Bombay, — recent Establishment of the Court, — Loftiness of its Pretensions, — Extension of Claims of Jurisdiction. —

LORD W. BENTINCK GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Case of Moro Raghunath of Poona. — Writ of Habeas Corpus issued for his Production. — Execution resisted, — Jurisdiction of Court denied. — Death of two of the Judges. — Letter of the Government, — treated as Derogatory and Illegal, — referred by Petition of Sir J. Grant to the Privy Council, — Process re-issued, — opposed by the Government, — Court closed, — re-opened, — Grounds of Proceedings. — Powers of the Court of King's Bench universal over the Subjects of the Crown, — same delegated to the Court of Bombay. — Privy Council decide against the Pretensions of the Court. — Investigations in Bengal in Communication with the Judges as to a Legislative Council, — recommended. — Final Arrangement, — Legislative Member of Council. — Visit of Governor-General to the Hills. — Plan of Revenue. — Settlement of the North-Western Provinces finally determined, and actively carried on. — Practices of the Murderers, called Thugs, — Measures for their Extirpation, — their Success. — Progress of Education. — Exclusive Cultivation of English proposed, — objections to. — Steam Communication with Europe. — Commerce. — Finance. — Revenue.

THE circumstances under which Lord W. Bentinck was recalled from the government of Madras, have been recorded in a preceding volume. Dissatisfied with the partial retraction of the censure then pronounced by the Court of Directors, he was naturally and commendably anxious to receive a more unequivocal proof of his restoration to their confidence; and had for some time past made known to them his desire to be again employed in their service. His wishes were at last complied with; and, in July, 1827, he was nominated Governor-General upon the resignation of Earl Amherst. The departure of that nobleman having taken place somewhat earlier than was expected, and Lord W. Bentinck's arrival in India being delayed until July, 1828, during the interval between that date and the sailing of his predecessor, the office of Governor-General devolved upon the senior member of council at the Presidency, Mr. William Butterworth Bayley, a distinguished member of the civil service of the Company. No public events of any importance occurred during the period of his administration; but it was busily

BOOK
CHAP. V

1828

BOOK III. engaged in laying the foundation of various important
 CHAP. VI. measures of internal improvement, the completion of
 which was reserved for the subsequent government.
 1828. About the same time, the other Presidencies were placed
 under new Governors, in the persons of the Honourable
 Mr. Lushington, at Madras, and Sir John Malcolm, at
 Bombay.

The very great deficiency of the public revenue, and the embarrassed condition of the finances of India, had been the subject of grave and deliberate consideration by the authorities in England; and the indispensable necessity of various economical reforms had been forcibly impressed upon the attention of the new Governor-General. The emergency of the case admitted of no denial; and the interests of the Indian Empire unquestionably demanded early and sweeping retrenchments. A conviction of this necessity, and a determination to conform to the letter of his instructions, influenced the very first proceedings of Lord W. Bentinck; and he had scarcely taken his seat in council, when he instituted arrangements for reducing the public expenditure, in both the civil and military branches of the service, according to the scale of 1823-4, which had been assumed by the Court of Directors and Board of Control as a moderate and safe standard.¹ The prevalence of tranquillity, and the little probability of its being disturbed, permitted of large reductions of the numerical strength of the armies of the three Presidencies; and they were accordingly effected, as opportunity allowed, without exciting dissatisfaction. One measure, however, was enforced, which, affecting the interests of a considerable portion of the officers of the Bengal Army, was productive of very widely diffused discontent, and exposed the Governor-General to an intensity of unpopularity with the military branch of the service, which no circumstances in his subsequent administration were able to allay.

At an early period of the East India Company's rule, a considerable addition had been made to the pay of officers of various ranks under the denomination of Batta.² The

¹ Letter from the Court, 12th December, 1827.—Committee, II. of Commons Finance. App. No. V.

² Batta, or more properly Bhát'ha, is a Hindi and Mahratta word, signifying merely "Extra-pay or allowance."

entire addition was granted to them when in the field within the territories of the Company. It was doubled when they served beyond the frontier; but reduced to a half when they were stationed in cantonments where quarters were provided for them. The grant of double Batta was early withdrawn, except with respect to troops serving in the dominions of the Nawab Vizir; but when the Lucknow subsidy was commuted for territorial cessions, this advantage was also discontinued. At the same time, officers were required to provide themselves with quarters when not in the field; and as a compensation for the loss of this accommodation, whole Batta was granted to them, whether in cantonments or on actual service.¹ This equalization of the extra-allowance, although originating in a notion that it was an economical arrangement, had never been approved of by the Home authorities, and instructions were sent to Bengal, in 1814, to revert partially to the former plan, and to grant Half-Batta only at the original stations of the army, or those which were established prior to the extension of the British territories, authority being at the same time conveyed to make an allowance for quarters at those stations. The grant of the latter was effected in 1814; but the Marquis of Hastings and Earl Amherst both objected strenuously to the proposed reduction of the Batta, and referred it for reconsideration to the Court. The Court persisted in its resolution; and the fulfilment of its positive injunctions devolved upon the new Governor-General on the very first exercise of his delegated authority. Orders so reiterated and so positive could not be disobeyed consistently with the obligations under which he had accepted office; and Lord W. Bentinck had no other alternative than to obey or resign his appointment. The latter was a sacrifice scarcely to be expected from him; and an impression prevailed that he felt little reluctance in executing the obnoxious instructions. An order was promulgated, in November, 1828,² which reduced the allowance of Batta to a half at the stations at Dinapore, Berhampore, Baraspoore, and Dum-dum, to which a fifth, Ghazipore, was afterwards

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

1828.

¹ General Order of the Governor-General in Council, 5th April 1814.
Facts and Documents relating to Half-Batta, &c. Calcutta, 1828, p. 22.

² General Order, 9th Nov. 1828.—Facts and Documents, p. 102.

BOOK III. added. So considerable a deduction from the pay of the
 CHAP. VI. junior officers especially, was naturally productive of dis-
 content; and urgent remonstrances against it were pre-
 1828: sented by different regiments through the recognised
 channels.¹ The Commander-in-Chief, Viscount Comber-
 mere, also protested strongly against its adoption.² It
 was argued, that the reduction was a virtual breach of the
 conditions under which officers purchased the public
 quarters transferred to them by public sale in 1801: that
 it fell with peculiar severity upon the junior officers,
 whose aggregate allowances were insufficient for their sup-
 port, and who were subjected to more than the ordinary
 expenses of living at the stations to which the order
 applied: that it was unequal in its effects upon the differ-
 ent branches of the army, as the cavalry were never
 quartered at any of the Half-Batta stations, while the
 artillery head-quarters were always at Dum-dum; and
 that the total amount of the saving to the state accom-
 plished by the retrenchment, was too insignificant³ to
 constitute an equivalent for the injury inflicted on indi-
 viduals, and the feeling of dissatisfaction which it inspir-
 ed. These representations were submitted to the Govern-
 ment by the Commander-in-Chief, and through him the
 memorialists were apprised,⁴ that copies should be for-
 forwarded to the Court of Directors, with an intimation that
 it would afford the Governor-General sincere gratification
 if the Court should see fit to re-consider their orders—a
 reply sufficiently indicative of the little regard likely to
 be paid to popular agitation by the head of the Govern-
 ment.⁵ The answer to such a reference it was easy to
 anticipate; and accordingly a letter from the Court, dated

¹ See the Memorials printed in the Facts and Documents.

² The letter is published in the Asiatic Monthly Journal of Nov. 1829, p. 600.

³ The annual saving was estimated at Sicca Rupees 1,98,547, or between £19,000 and £20,000.—Table of Military Reductions, Comm. House of Commons, Finance, Appendix, No. 7, p. 246.

⁴ By a circular notice issued from the office of the Adjutant-General, 7th April, 1829.—Facts and Documents, p. 80.

⁵ The same indifference was exhibited towards the Indian press, in which the Half-batta regulation was fully and freely commented upon, in a strain which preceding administrations would scarcely have tolerated; but which was prudently unnoticed: a system pursued consistently by Lord W. Bentinck throughout his government; and which, although he refrained from any removal of the existing restrictions, was equivalent to a recognition of the almost unchecked freedom of the press.

in March, 1830, which, by their instructions, was published to the army; expressed their determination, with the concurrence of His Majesty's ministers, including the Duke of Wellington, to enforce the retrenchment which they had ordered, after expressing their disapproval of the tone of the memorials which they considered to be inconsistent with the principles of military subordination, and recalling to the recollection of the officers the various measures adopted by the Court, or through their intervention, for their advantage and honour.¹ They asserted their right in common with that of all governments to augment or reduce the allowance of public servants, as the circumstances of the state might require, and maintained the justice as well as the necessity of the retrenchment in question, as no compacts had ever existed between the Court and those who entered their military service; and as it was the paramount duty of the Court to effect such a reduction of expenditure as should enable them to conduct their affairs without the imposition of any new burthens upon the people of India, or the demand of aid from the people of England. The promulgation of this order precluded all further remonstrance.² The necessity of economy admitted of no dispute. The objection taken to the measure, on account of the limited amount of the saving accruing from the Half-batta retrenchment, might have been equally applied to many other items of the public expenditure, and by preserving the individual details untouched, would have prevented any diminution of the general aggregate. Still, as the saving was effected at the expense of a class of the military servants of the Company, whose allowances were for the most part regulated by a scale barely sufficient for their support, and whose prospects of promotion had

BOOK III.

CHAP. VI.

1828.

¹ These were thus enumerated by Colonel Salmon. The rank of Colonel regimentally; Brevet rank for distinguished services in the field, and the honours of the Bath; an increased proportion of Field-Officers to Captains and Subalterns; command-money to Officers commanding Regiments and Battalions; augmentation of Brigadiers' commands both in number and value; addition of a fifth Captain to every regiment of Cavalry and Infantry, and every Battalion of Engineers and Artillery; appointment of an interpreter to every regiment; increased ratio of retiring and furlough pay; improvement of off- reckonings at the Company's expense; and grant of advantages of remittance and interest to the military retiring fund.—Comm. House of Commons, Military Evidence, 533.

² The Calcutta Government Gazette, Sept. 3, 1830.—*Asiatic Monthly Journal*, Feb. 1831, p. 97.

BOOK III. been clouded by the recent reductions to which the con-
 CHAR. VI. stitution of the army had been subjected, it was much to
 1829. be regretted, that a more liberal consideration was not
 given to their circumstances, and some less unpopular
 sources of economy devised. Their remonstrances, however,
 had possibly the effect of deterring the home authorities
 from attempting a wider extension of the obnoxious re-
 trenchment.

An arrangement of a more deliberate and comprehensive scope was at the same time adopted by the Governor General, in the appointment of committees for the especial purpose of investigating the particulars which constituted the augmentation of the public charges, and for bringing them back to the level of 1823-4. Two committees were at first nominated, one civil, one military, to be composed each of three members, one from each of the three Presidencies, holding their sittings at Calcutta. These committees were authorised to institute a full and detailed inquiry into the establishments entertained, and the charges incurred in all the branches, civil and military, of the administration of the different Presidencies, with the view particularly of unfolding all items of expense uselessly incurred, of exhibiting those which might admit of retrenchment, with the least public inconvenience; and of suggesting such alterations as might appear calculated to secure to the utmost practicable extent, unity, efficiency, and economy in the general management of public affairs.¹ The sweeping reductions made by the home authorities in the military disbursements involving a considerable diminution of the strength of the army, left so little for the military committee to undertake, that its services were superfluous. The civil committee prosecuted its labours with unremitting assiduity for several years; and in communication with the different governments, or in pursuance of instructions from England, suggested a number of economical arrangements, immediate or prospective, and various modifications of existing establishments, by which an aggregate annual saving of about half a million sterling was effected. The military reductions were still more considerable, exceeding double

¹ Minute of Governor-General, 7th October, 1823.—Comm. House of Commons, General App. III.

that amount.¹ Even this, however, was less than the BOOK III. exigence of the case demanded, as a surplus revenue of at CHAP. VI. least two millions sterling in India, was required to defray 1829. the annual expenses incurred in England on account of the territorial administration of India,² consisting in great part of interest payable on loans raised in the latter country, and of the allowances and pensions granted to the retired servants of the Company—charges as burdensome as unprofitable to the finances of India: a perpetual and increasing drain on its resources, yielding no sort of return.

A measure, partly of a financial, partly of a political character, was the result of Lord William Bentinck's voyage to the Eastern Settlements, which he undertook in the beginning of 1829. After a flying visit to Penang, Singapore, Malacca, and the settlements on the coasts of Tenasserim and Arakan, Lord W. Bentinck returned in April to Calcutta, prepared to carry into operation the changes which had been enjoined from home, as well as those retrenchments which his personal observation had suggested. Besides various alterations of detail, and considerable reductions of the existing establishments, the separate government of Penang, with its dependencies of Malacca and Singapore, was abolished, and made subordinate to Bengal. Each was at first placed under a deputy-resident, subject to the control of a Commissioner or Resident for the Straits.³ A modification of this system became subsequently necessary, but the dependence of the eastern settlements upon the Government of Bengal was undisturbed.

¹ Total of civil reductions	Sicca Rupees	46,26,075
Ditto of military ditto		1,09,13,837
Total		1,55,39,912

or £1,553,991. Of the former, however, many of those which were prospective, depended upon remote contingencies; and of the latter, the only reductions which could be regarded, were those of irregular corps and establishments. The reductions of the regular army, depending upon not filling up vacancies as they occurred, would require from three to four years.—Comm. House of Commons, Finance, App. No. 7.

² Minute of Governor-General, 30th Oct. 1829.—Comm. House of Lords, App. A. 7.

³ The titles of Governor and Resident Council, among other things, abolished by Lord W. Bentinck's sweeping measure of 1830 were shortly afterwards nominally restored: it being found that the charter of 1807 was so worded, that the King's Court of Judicature in the Straits could not be held in consequence of the non-attendance of those officers.—Newbold's Straits of Malacca, vol. i. 7.

BOOK III. Concurrently with the adoption of arrangements for diminishing the amount of the public expenditure

CHAP. VI. were determined upon for the actual or prospective

1829. mentation of the available resources. Amongst the

protection of the Opium Monopoly from dangerous competition to which it was exposed

the cultivation of the drug in Malwa, and its exportation

of dealers to China, had been long a subject of negotiation

with the Government of Bengal. As long as India was a scene of anarchy and desolation,

every kind of commerce was suspended, and the conveyance

of produce to distant markets was rendered impossible by the

imminent hazard to which travellers and traders were exposed,

of being robbed and murdered on the highways by lawless

bands which devastated the country. Commerce was therefore

reared, only as a scanty and precarious supply for local consumption

alone, and there was no finding in the opium of Malwa, a formidable

produce of Bengal. With the restoration of security, cultivation and

commerce revived, native capitalists speedily embarked in a

trade which promised them returns so lucrative as the exportation

to the east. The growth of the poppy, in the parts of Central India

where the soil was propitious, rapidly increased, and, after abundantly

supplying the local demand, exported considerable quantities of

opium, the transit of which was obstructed on the direct route to

Bombay, by prohibitory enactments of the British authorities.

The way from Malwa and the Eastern Rajput states, through

and Kota, to Pali, in the principality of Udaypur, the drug was

carried through Jesselmer, an arid desert to the port of Karachi

in Sindh, and thence to the Portuguese settlements of Diu and

Daman. There it was purchased by the European and Portuguese

merchants of Bombay, and exported in vessels under Portuguese

colours to the Eastern Archipelago, and although of somewhat

inferior quality to that of Behar, it obtained a ready sale at

prices sufficient to cover the whole cost of transport, and realise a

handsome profit. There was every probability, therefore, that the

trade would increase, and seriously affect the revenue of Bengal

from the opium monopoly.

PURCHASE OF MALWA OPIUM.

The anticipated consequences of the augmented export of Malwa opium attracted the attention of the Government, as soon as it became an article of substantive value; and measures for guarding against them were very early contemplated. To prohibit the growth of the poppy in states which were internally independent, was very properly held to be a stretch of power which was unwarranted by subsisting relations; and it was resolved therefore to enter the market as a purchaser, and buy so large a portion of the supply, as should leave little none for the indirect export. This plan, as might have been easily foreseen, tended only to keep up the price on the one hand, encouraging the extension of the cultivation; and on the other, absorbing the profits of the export and resale.¹ A change of agency, and its transfer from Bombay to Bengal, were next tried, but without material benefit. It was therefore determined to endeavour to enlist the native princes in the service of prohibition, and induce them to place restrictions on the cultivation of the poppy, and prevent its transit through their territories, by undertaking to pay them an annual sum as an equivalent for any diminution of revenue which might sustain in the assessment of the lands, and of duties upon the passage of the drug. Partially by the prospect of present personal advantage, and partially overborne by the commanding influence of the British Government, most of the princes of Malwa and adjacent states acceded to this arrangement, and concluded for by which, in consideration of certain stipulated payments, and after provision made for interference with the British agent the unnatural and paralyzing national industry, and extinguishing enterprise.² injuries almost capable of con-

¹ The amount of the purchases of the agent, at first exceeded in one year (1823) eighty-six lakhs of rupees, £2,000,000.

² See the treaty with the Rana of Udaypur, October, 1817, and the subsequent treaties with the Rana of Jodhpur, 1819, and the Rana of Marwar, 1820. By the first and second, the Rana engaged to abstain from the cultivation of the poppy, and the transit of opium throughout his dominions; the third article provided for compensation at 40,000 rupees; the fourth conditioned that the Rana should have the sole control of all arrangements and export of opium; the fifth provided for the suppression of domestic use; and the sixth, for its restriction to ceremonial and medicinal purposes; the seventh and eighth, all unlicensed opium was to be sold to the agent, who should pay for it the price current in Malwa; the ninth article stipulated that the measures should be binding as long as the restrictive measures should

BOOK III. all the benefits conferred upon Central India, by the exter-
 CHAP. VI. mination of the predatory system. The mischievous re-
 1829. sults were very soon sensibly felt both by princes and
 people, particularly in those states in which the cultivation
 of the poppy was extensive, as in Kota, where it had
 usurped the place of the crops of grain which the im-
 munity of the country from the general devastation that
 surrounded it, had, through the wisdom of its ruler, Zalim
 Sing, particularly favoured. A temporary agreement was
 nevertheless effected with the Raj Rana of the same tenor
 as that with the other chiefs; but the compact excited
 general dissatisfaction among the people, and upon its
 expiring, it was not renewed. It was agreed instead, that
 the British Government should purchase the larger por-
 tion of the opium grown in Kota, giving to the Raj Rana a
 bonus on the price, on condition of his preventing the sale
 of any further quantity for the purpose of export. This
 plan proved equally distasteful to the merchants and vex-
 atious to the growers; and was attended, it was asserted,
 with so much injury to the revenue, that it could not be
 insisted on with any regard to the fair claims of the state.
 Although the like feelings of discontent had not been
 openly avowed in other quarters, yet they had been simi-
 larly excited; and had led to evasion and resistance. The
 forcible seizure and confiscation of the opium in transit by
 the subordinate officers of the British Agency, was a
 manifest violation of the independence which had been
 acknowledged by treaty, and which, although sanctioned
 by special agreements, could not fail to be a fruitful
 source of contention and annoyance: nor was the inter-
 ference, in all cases, tamely submitted to: armed men
 were hired to escort the opium on its way through the
 territories where it was treated as contraband; and the
 attempts of the chiefs themselves to be faithful to their
 engagements and prevent its passage, were encountered
 with a resolute defiance which led to serious affrays and
 loss of life.¹ Nor could the system be effectual. As long

Similar engagements were concluded with Holkar, and most of the petty
 princes of Malwa, but Sindhia, and the rulers of Jaypur, and Jodhpur, declined
 to enter into them.

¹ In Bundi, in 1827, a body of Minas, guarding a quantity of opium in
 transit to Jaypur, was attacked by a party of the Raja's troops, headed by a
 relation of the Raja. The troops were defeated with loss, and their leader was

as Jaypur and Jodhpur were open to the passage of the drug, it was of little avail to shut up the avenues through those territories the princes of which were parties to the prohibition. Even, in regard to them, however, it was impossible to seal hermetically every channel by which the trade could find an issue; and in spite of all precautions the traffic went on increasing with the augmented stringency of the checks devised for its limitation.¹ This failure, and the obvious objections to the whole scheme, had for some time past disposed the Bengal Government to relinquish its prosecution; and during the administration of Mr. Bayley, inquiries were instituted with a view to its abandonment. Lord W. Bentinck took the same view of the arrangement as his predecessor;² and it was resolved to desist from all interference with the growth and transit of opium in the territories of the native chiefs, and to consider the treaties by which they were bound to prevent the trade as null and void, under the clause authorising the British Government to continue the restriction only while it should look upon it as essential to its abandonment. In place of the prohibitory engagements, it was at first attempted to revert to the original plan of purchasing the produce; but, as this was not found to answer, recourse was had to a system of licensing the direct conveyance of opium from the country where it was grown to Bombay, for sale or export on private account, charging for the license such a sum as should be equivalent to the cost and risk of conveyance by the circuitous route to Daman, and the duties there levied.³ This plan was attended with more than the anticipated success, and secured to Government a considerable annual revenue

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.
1829.

slain. The hill tribes, Minas, Mhers, and Bhils, were extensively employed as escorts to the illicit trade; and their natural turbulence was dangerously fostered by the employment.

¹ According to information obtained at Bombay, the export of opium from Daman, in the year 1827-8, was four thousand chests. In 1820-21 it did not exceed six hundred. At the latter date, not less than ten or eleven thousand maunds were carried out of Malwa, through Bundi and Udaypur; while the quantity seized was not above six hundred.

² Resolution of the Governor-General in Council, 10th June, 1829. For this and other details, see the third Report of the Comm. of the House of Commons, 1831. Appendix IV.

³ Bombay.—Regulation XX. of 1830.

BOOK III. from the opium commerce of Central India, without
 CHAP. VI. doing wrong to the interests of princes or people.¹

1829.

Measures affecting the financial demands of the State, and the interests of important classes of its subjects, the holders of land in the permanently settled provinces, had also been for a considerable time past under the consideration of the authorities both in England and in India. During the rule of the native princes, the sovereign exercised the privilege of exempting portions of the land from payment of the government assessment in favour of particular individuals or public establishments. Although the exemption was declaredly perpetual, yet it was well understood that it was granted only during the will or the power of the prince: and that, if he did not resume the grant himself, a circumstance by no means unfrequent, it was likely to be held in little reverence by his successor. The practice, however, continued to prevail: and, in the absence of all controlling authority in the latter days of the empire of Delhi, the privilege was usurped, not only by the governors of provinces, but by the subordinate revenue officers, and by the occupants of the land, who thus unauthorisedly crippled the resources of the state and defrauded the public revenue. A native administration, conducted with the vigour which it occasionally exhibited, would soon have remedied this disorder; but the forbearance of the British Government induced it to adopt the principle, that all alienations made previous to its accession to the Dewani, provided the grantees were in actual possession, should be held valid to the extent of the intentions of the grantor, as ascertainable from the terms of the writings by which the grants had been conveyed, or from the nature and denomination of the exemption. As no complete register of the exempted lands was recorded, the Zemindars and farmers, and collectors of the revenue, availed themselves of the limitation to withdraw extensive tracts from assessment, under pretext of their previous exemption, as substantiated by forged

¹ The charge of the Pass or License was fixed at 175 rupees per chest. In 1830-31 passes were granted for 951 chests, amounting to rupees 1.66.425. In the following year, the quantity rose to 7,156 chests; and the amount paid for the Passes to rupees 12,52,300. Comm. House of Commons. Revenue. App. p. 184. In later years, the sale of opium Passes and opium at Bombay had risen to between thirty and forty lakhs of rupees. In 1844-5 the amount was rupees 37,90,000

and fraudulent documents. Although aware of these practices, and in some degree guarding against them by a condition in the permanent settlement, which reserved to the Governor-General in Council power to impose an assessment upon all such portions of the land as should prove to have been exempted under an illegal or invalid title, yet a very superfluous tenderness was shown towards the Zemindars, by securing those, who held rent-free lands by titles that might be declared valid, in the possession of their property; and by requiring that the illegality of a title should be established in a court of judicature before the land should be subjected to assessment; disregarding the facts, that every alienation of the public revenue in the lower provinces must have been made, during the preceding half-century at least by usurped and incompetent authority; and that, at no period of native rule, was the irrevocableness of such exemptions recognised in practice. The alienations received, however, in 1793, the formal sanction of the Government, subject to specified conditions; the failure of which was to be established by the Collector, with the sanction of the Revenue Board, through the institution of a regular suit in a court of law, the burthen of proving the invalidity of the title resting with the Collector. The inefficiency of the enactment was soon manifested; and, after various attempts to devise a remedy, which were but of partial and incomplete operation, the Collectors were empowered, with the approbation of the Board of Revenue, to set on foot a direct inquiry into the titles of rent-free lands, and call for written vouchers and examine witnesses, and pronounce a decision either for or against the occupant. If the latter, and the sentence was confirmed by the Board, the land was assessed at the usual rate, leaving to the proprietor liberty to appeal to a court of law against the decision.¹ This enactment proved as ineffective as the preceding. Few cases were brought forward for trial; and the decisions of the courts upon appeals from the judgments of the revenue officers were so long delayed, or so uncertain and contradictory, that neither the interests of the appellant nor those of the Government were benefitted by the procedure. It still remained

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.
1829.

¹ Regulation II., 1819.

BOOK III. necessary, therefore, to adopt more vigorous measures,
CHAP. VI. in order to vindicate the just claims of the state, and
1829. recover such portions of the revenue as had been illegally
or fraudulently alienated ; although the lapse of time and
the repeated transfer of the property rendered the task
difficult without the infliction of occasional injustice upon
individuals. In order to accomplish this object, a regula-
tion¹ had been promulgated shortly before the arrival
of the Governor-General, but in which Lord W. Bentinck
unhesitatingly concurred. By this it was declared com-
petent to the Governor-General to appoint Special Com-
missioners to hear and decide upon all appeals made to
them from the adverse decisions of the Collectors in
levying an assessment upon lands previously held rent-
free. The Commissioners were selected for their qualifi-
cations in both the Judicial and Revenue departments,
and according to the circumstances of the district in
which their services were required. The Government was
not deterred from committing the inquiry and decision,
in the first instance, to the Collectors of the revenue, as
the rigorous separation of the revenue and judicial services,
which was so strenuously insisted upon in the system of
1793, had long been found inconvenient, and had been,
in a great degree, practically abandoned. The Collectors
were, therefore, habituated to the exercise of judicial
functions : and as the per-centage formerly allowed to
them upon the establishment of a case of resumption had
been done away with, there did not appear reason to
apprehend any partial judgment from them more than
from any other class of functionaries. An excess of zeal
might occasionally influence the proceedings of the Col-
lector ; but a corrective of a hasty or prejudiced judg-
ment on his part would be supplied, it was expected, by
the final award of the Special Commissioners. The check
was at first found less effectual than had been anticipated,
and much mischief and alarm were ultimately created by
the ill-judged activity of some of the revenue officers
requiring the interposition of the Home authorities.
This belongs to a later period. In the mean time the
enactment was contemplated with much dissatisfaction
by parties interested in retaining lands exempt from re-

¹ Regulation III., 12th June, 1828.

venue-deductions ; and petitions against the measure were presented by a number of the Zemindars of Bengal and Bahar. Their representations were not considered, however, of sufficient weight to require the reconsideration of a measure which was intended to uphold the just demands of the State against the encroachments of interested individuals, and protect the owners of valid tenures against unnecessary disquiet and alarm.¹

BOOK III.

CHAP. VI.

1829.

Nor were the revenues of the State the sole object at this period of the attention of the Government: and measures which had been long under consideration were now brought into operation, involving a material departure from the existing system, in the re-organisation of the superior courts of Criminal Justice and the combination of their functions with the control of the Revenue—a union of duties which it was the fundamental principal of the reforms of 1793 to annul. The superintendence, however, of the magistracy and police, and the control over the revenue officers, as provided for by actual regulations, had long been found insufficient.² The provincial courts of Appeal and Circuit, partly from the vast extent of their jurisdiction, and partly from their being burthened with the functions of both civil and criminal tribunals, had proved inadequate to the demands of public justice, and while the causes appealed to them had been suffered to fall into almost hopeless arrear, the periods fixed for the regular gaol-deliveries had been protracted beyond the legal limits, and persons had been detained in confinement without trial for a length of time which was equivalent to an anticipation of punishment, even although undeserved. In like manner the great extent of country placed under the authority of the Boards of Revenue, particularly in the Western Provinces, rendered it impossible for them to exercise an effectual check over the proceedings of the subordinate officers ; and embarrassed and retarded the decision of many important questions relating to the assessment of the unsettled districts, and the adjudication of public and private claims. In order to remedy these defects, it was

¹ Committee House of Commons. Revenue. App. 85. Inquiry into Alienation of the Land Revenue. Letter from Bengal, 23rd February, 1830.

² Governor-General's Minute, January, 1834. Extracts, Revenue Records Calcutta—Printed, 1837.

BOOK III. considered advisable to place the magistrates and t
 CHAP. VI. collectors, and the executive officers of both police and

1829.

revenue, under the superintendence of Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit, each of whom was vested with the charge of such a circumscribed tract of country as should bring him, when stationary, within ready reach of the people, and should enable him to make frequent circuits through the extent of his jurisdiction.¹ To these Commissioners were consigned the powers previously intrusted to the Courts of Circuit and Boards of Revenue, to be exercised under the authority of the Supreme Criminal Court, and a Supreme Board of Revenue at Calcutta; and to them also were transferred the duties of the Special Commission, appointed in 1821 to redress the injuries inflicted on the inhabitants of the Western Provinces, in the assessment of the revenue. The revenue Boards in the provinces, and the office of superintendent of police were abolished, and the functions of the provincial courts confined to the hearing of appeals in civil causes. Twenty Commissioners were nominated, besides the special commissioners already appointed in Cuttack, Asam, Arakan, and other parts of the country, to which the operation of the regulations had not yet been extended. This combination of duties, however repugnant to the notions of English law and the conditions of Society in Europe, was better suited to the state of things in India and the sentiments of the people, than the distinctions which had heretofore existed, and which had been constructed upon an English model; but it disappointed the expectations formed of its utility, and very shortly was found to require essential modification. The scheme of combination was neither sufficiently simple, nor sufficiently comprehensive²; and the powers of the Commissioners were

¹ Revenue Letter from Bengal, 10th December, 1828. Comm. H. of Commons. Judicial. App. No. III. Regulation I., 1829.

² These were the grounds of objection taken by Sir C. Metcalfe. He remarks:—"The best form of government, with a view to the welfare of the natives of India in their present state, I believe to be that which is most simple and most free from artificial institutions. The best form of government, with a view to the maintenance of British dominion in India, I believe to be that which is most conducive to a union of powers, and most free from the elements of collision and counteraction." He proceeds accordingly to suggest a plan, of which the summary outline is the following:—"Native functionaries, in the first instance, in all departments. European superintendents, uniting the local powers of judicature, police, and revenue, in all their branches, through the districts over which they preside. Commissioners over them; and a Board

hampered by conflicting and independent authorities. Too much of detail was also assigned to them, to leave them adequate leisure for the duty of superintendence ; and the extent of their jurisdiction was still too wide to admit of minute and frequent visitation. It was found advisable, consequently, to make a provision for relieving them of their judicial functions, whenever they became too heavy, and to transfer the trial of all criminal commitments to Zilla, and city judges, specially appointed to conduct the duties of the sessions, and to hold monthly gaol-deliveries. Other changes were made from time to time in the constitution of the Commissioners of revenue and circuit, and at a considerably later date their duties mostly merged into those of other functionaries.

In the department of civil justice also, essential alterations were contemplated or effected in the system of 1793, the machinery of which, inadequate from the first to accomplish more than a small part of the work it was expected to perform, had undergone almost yearly modifications necessary to remove the grounds of civil controversies, to expedite their adjustment, or to reduce arrears of suits which had nevertheless continued to accumulate. The radical defect of Lord Cornwallis's plan was the almost exclusive agency of European functionaries, in the administration of civil and criminal justice, and the assignment to them of an amount of labour, which no activity or intelligence could overtake ; and which, with the increase of property and population, was still further exceeding the means of execution. No addition to the European portion of the judicial establishments, which the public finances might defray, could provide for the deficiency ; and it had been repeatedly acknowledged, as we have already seen, both by the local governments, and the home authorities, that the augmented employment of the natives of India was to be looked to as the only efficacious mode of securing the due administration of civil justice. Various measures for this purpose had from time to time been devised, as has already been noticed ; and it was estimated, that, in the year 1827, nineteen-

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.
1829.

over the Commissioners, communicating with and subject to the immediate control of the Government. Comm. H. of Commons. Judicial, App. III.. No. 4. Minute of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

BOOK III. twentieths of the original suits instituted in the civil
 CHAP. VI. courts throughout the country, were already determined
 1829. by native judicial officers¹. Instructions from home in
 the following year directed a still further extension of the
 arrangement, and the appointment of a superior class of
 native civil judges, or Sudder Amins, who should be
 allowed to decide all original suits to the value of 5000
 rupees (£500), and to receive appeals from the inferior
 Amins. These instructions were carried into operation,
 and a regulation was promulgated², by which the powers
 and emoluments of the native judges were fixed upon a
 comprehensive and liberal scale, so as to elevate the in-
 dividuals in their own estimation, and that of their coun-
 trymen, and to invest them with the almost entire charge
 of the administration of civil justice.

The distance of the Presidency from the Western Pro-
 vinces having been found to deter the natives of the latter
 from resorting to the Supreme Court of Appeal in Cal-
 cutta, and to impair the efficiency of the control intended
 to be exercised over the judges and magistrates, it was
 also determined at this time to establish a separate court
 of Sudder Diwani and Nizamat Adaulat, to be ordinarily
 stationed at Allahabad, for the superintendence of civil
 and criminal judicature throughout the Upper Provinces.³
 A similar arrangement was adopted with regard to the
 Revenue; and a deputation from the Sudder Board of
 Calcutta was stationed at Allahabad, to exercise exclusive
 control and direction over the revenue affairs of the
 Western Provinces, together with the Province of Kamaon
 and the Saugur and Nerbudda territories.⁴

In enacting these and other subordinate modifications
 of the existing judicial and revenue systems in Bengal,
 the Governor-General had little more to do than to sanc-

¹ Minute by Mr. B. Bayley, 10th November, 1829. Comm. H. of Commons. Judicial. App. VI.

² Regulation V., 1831. The credit of this enactment has sometimes been given exclusively to Lord W. Bentinck; but this is an injustice. That his lordship unreservedly admitted the principle, and zealously carried into practice the employment of respectable natives in the administration of public affairs, is undoubtedly true; but the justice and necessity of the measure had been fully recognised, both in India and England, long before Lord W. Bentinck's appointment; and the provisions of the Regulation here cited were based, as mentioned in the Regulation, upon the Suggestions and Orders of the Court of Directors, prior to the arrival in India of the actual Governor-General.

³ Regulation VI., 1831.

⁴ Regulation X., 1831.

tion and carry into effective operation measures which had been already well considered and were nearly brought to maturity. In another and more important innovation, he was in a greater degree individually responsible, although the proceedings of his predecessors had long been directed to the same end, and had prepared the way for the consummation now accomplished. This was the abolition of the Suttee,¹ or immolation of a widow on the funeral pile of her deceased husband; a barbarous superstition which had prevailed from remote antiquity, and which was sanctioned by texts believed by the Hindus to have been uttered by divine legislators, and having, in their estimation, the weight of law and religion. The sanctity of the rite was, therefore, an article of Hindu faith, with which, however repugnant to the feelings and creed of the rulers of the country, the tenure by which they held their power rendered them for a long time averse and afraid to interfere. Under the administration of Lord Cornwallis, public officers, although authorised to withhold their consent to the ceremony, should it be applied for, were prohibited from preventing it by any exertion of their official functions. In 1805, a reference was made by Lord Wellesley to the Nizam Adaulat to ascertain, whether, in the opinion of the judges, the practice might not be authoritatively suppressed; and their reply stated, that they considered the immediate abolition highly inexpedient, although they thought it might be gradually effected, and at no distant period; suggesting at the same time the enactment of provisions for preventing the illegal, unwarrantable and criminal abuses, which were known to occur in the performance of the rite. These suggestions do not appear to have been adopted; and it was not until the beginning of 1813 that any interposition of authority was sanctioned. This was of the most cautious character, being declaredly intended, not so much to put a stop to the rite, as to prevent the gross abuses and irregularities by which it had been rendered more revolting and inhuman, and to enforce those

¹ The term Suttee, or Sati, is strictly applicable to the person, not the rite; meaning "a pure and virtuous woman;" and designates the wife who completes a life of uninterrupted conjugal devotedness by the act of Saha-gamana, accompanying her husband's corpse. It has come in common usage to denote the act.

BOOK III. provisions of the strict letter of the Hindu law, which
 CHAP. VI. imposed certain restrictions and limitations, calculated, in
 1829. some degree, to lessen its barbarity and diminish its frequency. In the circular instructions, addressed, on this occasion, to the judicial officers, they were directed to explain to persons of the Hindu persuasion, that nothing was further from the intention of Government than to infringe any recognised tenet of their religion; and that its only object was, to restrain the use of arts and practices which were not less repugnant to the doctrines of their own faith, than revolting to the general dictates of humanity. With this view, it was ordered that the rite should never take place without previous communication to the magistrate or the principal officer of police, who was to ascertain that it was entirely voluntary; that the widow was not under the influence of stupifying and intoxicating drugs; that she was not under the age of sixteen, and not pregnant; and the police were bound to be present and take care that no intimidation or violence was employed. Besides the positive prevention of unauthorised atrocities, it was expected that the difficulties and checks thus attached to the performance of the rite, would discourage the fanaticism by which it was prompted and indirectly lead to its discontinuance.

The hope for benefit from these measures was disappointed: irregularities and abuses were still perpetrated, and constant violations of the law were committed, particularly with regard to the age and condition of the widow, and the use of forcible means in preventing her from retracting her resolve, or from making her escape from the flames. The practice appeared also to increase in frequency with the activity of the supervision to which it was subjected; and there was reason to apprehend that the regulations devised for its discouragement and suppression, had, by recognising its due performance according to the Hindu law, afforded it the countenance and sanction of the Government, and favoured its repetition. This inference was probably erroneous; and the increased number of Suttees, during a part of the time at least for which returns were made, was to be accounted for by the prevalence of unusual mortality, and, throughout the whole period, to greater precision in the police reports.

The possibility, however, of such a result, combined with the general and growing abhorrence of the sacrifice, was gradually overcoming the fear of encountering the consequences of more decided interposition; and the abolition of the practice, either universally, or in those provinces where it was of comparatively rare occurrence, had been strenuously urged by several of the Company's most experienced functionaries. The great majority, however, still continued to be too apprehensive of the consequences of prohibition, to coincide in the recommendation; and the Government still leaned to the side of non-interference. It was reserved for Lord William Bentinck to prove the futility of these apprehensions; and to establish the safety, as well as to discharge the duty, of abolishing a practice equally repugnant to the feelings of nature and the laws of civilisation.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.
1829.

Soon after his arrival in India, the Governor-General circulated a confidential letter to a number of the civil and military officers of the Presidency, calling upon them for their opinions with regard to the immediate or gradual abolition of the right of Suttee, and the consequences which might ensue from any interference on the part of the ruling authority, and more particularly as to the impression which such a measure might produce upon the minds of the native soldiery. The replies indicated a considerable variety of sentiment. No difference was entertained as to the barbarous character of the ceremony, and the desirableness of its total abolition; but whether it could be attempted with success and with safety, gave rise to much diversity of opinion. It was urged against the measure, that the abolition of the rite by the will of the Government was a departure from the principles of toleration hitherto professed, and was an interference with the religion of the Hindus, from which all previous Governments, while equally abhorrent of the practice, had been deterred by the dread of mischievous results,¹ and that such consequences were still to be apprehended from

¹ Thus, in addition to the passages referred to in the text, we have in the correspondence of Earl Amherst the same sentiment expressed—"Nothing but apprehension of evils infinitely greater than those arising from the existence of the practice, should induce us to tolerate it for a single day."—Letter from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors 3rd Dec., 1824. Parliamentary Papers, 5th July, 1825.

BOOK III. its forcible suppression—that, even if an extensive and
 CHAP. VI. formidable insurrection should not occur, it was likely

1829.

that local tumults would take place which could not be allayed without loss of life and widely-extended disaffection, which would shew itself in perpetual attempts to evade or resist the law—would inspire the people with fear and hatred of the Government, and would oppose an indefinite interruption to the progress of improvement which had been commenced within the last few years, and had been attended with the most favourable indications of ultimate success—indications which had shewn themselves even in regard to the subject under discussion, as the practice was evidently diminishing, particularly among persons of respectability, without whose encouragement it would gradually fall into disuse; and, finally, that the stability of the British Empire in India might be imperilled, if the native army, composed as it was in a large proportion of Hindus of high caste, should take part with their countrymen in resistance to the measure

In answer to these objections it was maintained, that the rite of con cremation was not an essential part of the Hindu religion, as it was not even alluded to by Manu,¹ the lawgiver, held in the highest veneration by the Hindus; and that consequently it was no infringement of the principle of toleration to prohibit the continuance: that, even if it could be so regarded, it was not likely to fill the Hindus with any apprehension of the ultimate designs of the Government, as they would ascribe the act to its true motives—feelings of humanity—and would learn, from subsequent proceedings conducted in the spirit which had always influenced the state, to discard any temporary impressions of fear or mistrust. The course which preceding administrations had pursued was, no doubt, to be justified by the reasons by which it was dictated; and, under similar circumstances, would still

¹ The texts of Manu, referring to this subject are as follow:—"A faithful wife, who wishes to attain in heaven the mansion of her husband, must do nothing unkind to him, be he living or dead. Let her emaciate her body, by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruits; but let her not, when her husband is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue until death, forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every sensual pleasure, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue, which have been followed by such women as have been devoted to one only husband."—B. 156—159.

have to be followed; but the circumstances of native so- BOOK III.
ciety and the progress of enlightened ideas had now become CHAP. VI.
propitious to more decided legislation. It was possible that
some attempts might be made to resist the enforcement of
the prohibition, but they were not likely to be frequent
or formidable, or beyond the exercise of the civil power:
for the great seat of the rite was the province of Bengal,¹
the inhabitants of which were notoriously an unresisting
and spiritless race: were the ceremony frequent in the
Upper, instead of the Lower Provinces, in the midst of a
bold and manly people, the impunity of the prohibition
might be less problematical: in the vicinity of Calcutta,
such was the want of courage and vigour of character,
and such the habitual subserviency of centuries, that
insurrection or hostile opposition to the will of the ruling
power might be affirmed to be an impossible danger.
That although for a time discontent and distrust might
disincline the people to accept the amelioration of their
moral and intellectual condition benevolently offered by
the Government, yet the check, if any were suffered,
would be transient, and the disinclination would give
way to the expectation of advantage, and to a returning
reliance upon the adherence of the Government to the
principal of non-interference with religious belief, in all
matters in which it was not incompatible with the
security of property or person. That it was doubtful how
far the decline of the practice could be ascribed to the
dissemination of instruction, as little or no change could
have yet affected the bulk of the population, and the

¹ In 1828-9, of the 463 Suttees which took place, 420 occurred in the lower provinces, or, Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; and of these, 287 in the Calcutta division alone. The following is the official return of the Suttees from 1815 to 1828:—

	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828
Calcutta	253	289	442	544	421	370	372	328	340	373	398	324	337	309
Dacca ..	31	24	52	58	55	51	52	45	40	40	101	65	49	47
Mursh- edabad...	11	22	42	30	25	21	12	22	13	14	21	8	2	10
Patna ..	20	29	49	57	40	62	69	70	49	42	47	65	55	55
Benares	48	65	103	137	92	103	114	102	121	93	55	48	49	33
Bareilly	15	13	19	13	17	20	15	16	12	10	17	8	18	10
	378	412	707	839	650	597	654	583	557	572	629	518	517	463

BOOK III. process of self-conviction must be precarious and re
 CHAP. VI. The only remaining consideration of sufficient weight

1829.

justify hesitation was, therefore, the feeling which the abolition of the rite might excite in the minds of the native soldiery; and on this subject, although several distinguished officers considered it dangerous and undesirable, yet the majority concurred in opinion that the Hindu Sipahis took little or no interest in the question. In the districts from which they were mostly drawn, the practice was unfrequent; and it still more rarely occurred in cantonments, as the men were not usually accompanied by their wives; the greater number had, therefore, not even witnessed the rite, and felt no personal concern or pride in its perpetuation.¹ Some danger might arise from the instigations of ill-disposed and intriguing individuals, inimical to British rule; and it might be urged to call upon the troops to take any part in enforcing the prohibitory provisions of the law; but as long as the sources of insecurity could be obviated, and as long as the Sipahis felt assured that the Government was determined to respect their religious habits and usages in essential points, its interference in the case of Suttas would neither alarm their fears, nor rouse their resentment, nor impair in any degree their loyalty and devotion to the service.

Fortified with these opinions, and supported by the concurrence of the members of his council, the Governor General decided upon abolishing the rite; and in communication with the Nizamat Adawlat enacted and promulgated a regulation,² by which the practice of Sutta or of burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus, was declared illegal, and punishable by the Criminal Code. The Police-officers were authorised to prevent its performance, and to apprehend the principal persons engaged in aiding or abetting it, who should be liable to trial for culpable homicide, and subject to imprisonment and death. Nothing in the regulation was to preclude the criminal court from inflicting capital punishment, according to the circumstances of the case, upon any person

¹ It was stated by several officers, that in the course of 30 years' service they never knew nor heard of a Sutta taking place in the native army.

² Regulation XVII., 1829.

convicted of having used violence or compulsion, or employed stupifying or intoxicating drugs so as to debar a widow from the exercise of her free will, in the event of such a sacrifice taking place in violation of the law. Thus was the question brought to a determination honourable alike to the decision and to the humanity of Lord William Bentinck.

BOOK III.

CHAP. VI.

1829.

The apprehensions which had been entertained of the probable evil consequences of the abolition of the Sutte, and of the violent resentment and tumultuary resistance which it was likely to provoke, were singularly falsified: some few attempts to evade or defy the law were at first tried, and with occasional success; but the vigilance of the police, and the seizure and punishment of the parties principally concerned, evinced the determination of the Government to enforce the prohibition; and the people quietly submitted to the law. Enactments of a similar tendency were promulgated at Madras, and at Bombay; and with the like result as in Bengal.¹ Some feeble efforts were made in Bengal to obtain a reconsideration of the measure; and petitions were presented against it by a number of Hindus, chiefly persons of opulence, both in the interior and in Calcutta. Addresses of a contrary purport, commendatory of the resolution of the Government, were also presented by a respectable body of Hindus, headed by names which have since become well-known in Europe, as those of individuals victorious over the prejudices of their countrymen, by their travels in the regions of the West—Dwarkanath Thakur and Rammohun-Roy. As the application to the Governor-General, by the votaries of the ancient superstition, proved unavailing, the petitioners had recourse to the remaining legal source of redress, an appeal to the king in council. Their cause

¹ At Madras the Regulation was simply re-enacted: Regulation I., 1830. At Bombay, the direct prohibition was considered inadvisable, as great part of the territory had been but recently annexed to the British possessions. It was, therefore, thought sufficient to rescind, by Regulation XVI., 1830, the exemption from the punishment of culpable homicide, which had been accorded to persons assisting at the rite of self-immolation, by Regulation XIV., 1827. One case of serious resistance occurred in 1835, in a dependency of the Bombay Presidency, where, upon the death of the Raja, five of his wives were forcibly burned, in defiance of the efforts of the Assistant Political Commissioner to prevent it: although he had a force of 300 men at his command, a still larger body of armed men was assembled, who were not dispersed without loss of life, and the necessity of calling in regular troops.

BOOK III. was deliberately and dispassionately argued before
 CHAP. VI. Privy Council, in June, 1832; and after hearing the

1829.

ments of the appellants, and of the advocates of the
 of Directors, as respondents, the council recommended
 that the petition should be dismissed; and it was dismissed
 accordingly.¹ The rejection of the petition was not
 followed by any excitement: an uneasy and sullen suspicion
 of the objects and intentions of the British Government
 continued for a while to pervade a considerable portion
 of the Hindu population, but it never assumed the form of
 popular agitation: and the progress of time, and the con-
 tinued caution with which the British Government
 abstained from further interposition, have dissipated the
 alarm and apprehension that might have been generated
 by its conduct in the prohibition of the Sutte. Its influence
 has been even extended to the states of its neighbours,
 and various native princes have been induced to prohibit
 the ceremony within their dominions.² They have
 been always perhaps very sincere in their zeal for
 suppression; but their professed discountenance, and
 diffusion of more humane principles and more enlightened
 ideas, have contributed to check and restrict the practice,
 and, except on the death of some chief of high rank, the
 occurrence of the rite has become a rare event in the
 annals of Hindustan.

A measure even more unpalatable to the Hindu community, was some while afterwards enacted; but attracted no notice at the time of its promulgation. It was mixed up with a variety of provisions, which were modifications of the rules extending the power of the native judicial officers, or supplementary to those previously established, and was veiled with some degree of obscurity.³ By the existing regulations, all questions regarding succession to property were to be decided according to the religion of the parties; the Mohammedan

¹ See Asiatic Monthly Journal, August, 1832, pp. 167, 169.

² Annual Reports and Correspondence, printed by order of Parliament, relating to the burning of Hindu widows, from July 1831 to March 1832, printed statement and Supplement presented on the part of the Government to the Privy Council.

³ Regulation VII. 1832. It is headed, a Regulation for modification of the provisions of Regulation V. 1831, and for providing a summary of the rules to that enactment.—Passed by the Vice-President in Council Oct. 1st, 1832.

laws forming the general rules by which the judges were to be guided with respect to Mohammedans ; Hindu laws, with respect to Hindus.¹ It was now declared, that these rules applied to such persons only as should be *bonâ fide* professors of those religions, at the time of the application of the law to the case, being designed for the protection of the rights of some persons, not for the deprivation of the rights of others. Whenever, therefore, in a civil suit, the parties were of different persuasions,—one being a Mohammedan, the other a Hindu, or one or more being neither Mohammedans nor Hindus, the laws of those religions were not permitted to operate to deprive such party or parties of any property to which, but for the operation of such laws, they would have been entitled. In all such cases, the decision was to be governed by the principles of justice, equity, and good conscience. The object of the enactment was, in fact, to bar the operation of the Hindu law, by which a convert to Mohammedanism or Christianity, becoming an outcast, forfeited his claim to the share of any heritable property, to which, as a Hindu, he would have been entitled : a forfeiture contributing powerfully to deprive the Hindus of the free exercise of their judgment, in the adoption of a different creed. It was not until a much later period, that the tendency of this enactment attracted the notice of those who were principally affected by it.

The principal arrangements for the better administration of revenue and justice, which were enacted at this period, especially those which provided for the union of police-duties with the collection of the revenue, and for the extension of the employment of native officers in responsible stations in either department, had been previously introduced at Madras. Little more was there necessary, than to modify existing enactments for the better carrying out of the objects proposed by them, and the adoption of such a re-organisation of establishments, as should provide for the more economical discharge of their duties, without impairing their efficiency.² Nothing

¹ Sect. XV., Regulation IV., 1793. Sect. XVI., Regulation III., 1803.

² Regulation IV. of 1832, following the example of the Bengal Regulation, admitted to judicial employment, in addition to Mohammedans and Hindus, natives of India who were the descendants of Europeans. In 1833, by Regulation III., Sadder Amins were empowered to try criminal cases under the

BOOK III. of any very particular interest occurred in the legislative
 CHAP. VI. proceedings at this Presidency during the administrations
 1829-32. of Mr. Lushington and Sir Frederick Adam, by whom the
 former was succeeded. Neither were any innovations of
 any magnitude introduced at Bombay, the chief objects of
 the regulations there passed being to explain and enlarge
 the provisions of those constituting the code of 1827, to
 bring within the operation of the existing laws the pro-
 vinces to which they had not been previously extended, to
 improve the organisation of the judicial and revenue de-
 partments, and to extend the powers of both European and
 Native functionaries. In the latter respect, the enact-
 ments of the Bombay Government were more liberal than
 those of Bengal, as they assigned no limitation whatever to
 the value of the property in civil suits brought before the
 principal native officer.¹ From the end of 1834, the sepa-
 rate legislation of the several Presidencies ceased, under
 the provisions of the new charter granted to the Com-
 pany; and *Acts* applicable to the whole were thenceforth
 passed by the Governor-General of India in Council.

In the early part of the administration of Sir John
 Malcolm, at Bombay, the local government was involved
 in a discussion with the Supreme Court at the Presidency,
 which originated in the same lofty conceptions of its
 powers, and the same contemptuous disregard of the poli-
 tical circumstances of the Indian Government, which had
 been manifested by the Supreme Court of Bengal, at the
 period of its first institution. The question of conflicting
 jurisdiction had been in some respects set at rest by sub-
 sequent acts of the British legislature; but there were

authority of the European or Native criminal Judges; and the value of the
 property litigated in civil suits, which might be tried before the same descrip-
 tion of officers, and before District Munsiffs was raised respectively to 3000
 and to 1000 rupees. — See also Minute of Mr. Lushington, 14th Sept., 1829,
 Comm. House of Commons, 1832, General App. III.

¹ Regulation XVIII. of 1831, established three classes of native judicial
 functionaries: a native Judge, a principal native commissioner, and a junior
 native commissioner: original suits before the first were of unlimited amount;
 and he was authorised to decide appeals from the native commissioner in
 property not exceeding the value of 100 rupees. The principal native com-
 missioner was empowered to adjudicate suits to the extent of 10,000 rupees,
 the junior to that of 5000: the latter being the limit in Bengal, of the principal
 Sudder Amins. — For the modifications of the system at Bombay, see Minute
 of Sir John Malcolm, 10th Nov. 1830, printed in the Judicial Appendix to the
 Report of the Comm. of the House of Commons, No. IV.; also Letter of the
 Calcutta Finance Committee, 26th Sept. 1829, No. III. — General App. B, part
 of Comm. House of Commons, 1832.

others in which the language of the statutes was so vague and unprecise, as to afford a foundation for the pretensions of the British judges to extend their authority beyond the limits within which it could alone be exercised compatibly with the interests of the people, and the stability of the Government. At Bengal and Madras, the prolonged existence of the Courts had accustomed the judges to pay some consideration to the relations in which they stood to the state, and although even with them collisions occasionally occurred, yet their general conduct was cautious and conciliatory, and no serious dispute had arisen between them and the local governments. At Bombay, the institution of a Supreme Court was a novelty; and the judges had yet to learn the exact nature of their position. The administration of English law, restricted at Bombay, as well as at the other Presidencies, to the seat of Government, and to British subjects in the provinces, had been for a considerable period entrusted to a single European judge, with the designation of Recorder, whose court had been fully adequate to the adjudication of all the causes which could be brought before it in the legitimate spirit of its institution. As, however, there were courts at Calcutta and Madras, presided over by three of His Majesty's judges, the precedent suggested a favourable plea for the extension of ministerial patronage; and without any advertence to the relative circumstances of the Presidencies, their comparative extent of wealth and population, a similarly cumbrous and costly machinery was devised for the administration of English law in Bombay. In 1823, a Supreme Court was accordingly established at Bombay, of which Sir Edward West, who had previously held the office of Recorder, was appointed the Chief Justice in the following year. The effects of the augmented dignity of the new courts were soon exhibited; and cases occurred which, although of no very great importance, clearly evinced a disposition to set aside the local government, and usurp an independent and paramount authority. At the period at which we are arrived, Sir Edward West was associated on the bench with Sir Charles Chambers and Sir John Peter Grant; and he and his colleagues engaged, with more than decorous vehemence, in contests with the Government regarding the extent of their jurisdiction, of which inte-

BOOK III.

CHAP. VI.

1829.

BOOK III. rested individuals in Bombay were not slow to take advantage. One occasion of this kind brought matters to a crisis. A Mahratta youth of wealth and distinction, Moro

1829. Raghunath, had been left, upon the decease of his parents, under the guardianship of his grand-uncle Pandurang Ramchander, a kinsman of the late Peshwa, and an inhabitant of Poona. The relations of his wife, desirous of having charge of Moro Raghunath for purposes of their own, repaired to Bombay; and declaring that the youth was compulsorily detained by his grand-uncle in a state of confinement, by which his life was endangered, obtained from the Supreme Court a writ of Habeas Corpus for the conveyance of the lad to Bombay. The execution of the writ was resisted by the magistrate of Poona with the sanction of the Government, not only because the affidavits on which it was granted were entirely false, but because neither uncle nor nephew had ever resided or possessed property in Bombay by which they should be considered in any degree amenable to the processes of English law; and the jurisdiction of the supreme court did not extend to Poona. The court, although admitting, that, according to the restrictions of the Charter, Pandurang Ramchander and Moro Raghunath might not be subject to its jurisdiction, yet, holding that, as it had been endowed with the powers of the King's Bench, it was bound to watch over and protect the personal liberty of all the king's subjects in India without reference to territorial limitation,¹ persisted in its assertion of jurisdiction in this particular case, and repeated its warrant for the production of the person of the boy. At an early stage of the proceedings, Sir Edward West died.² Sir C. Chambers died shortly afterwards, previously declaring his determination to uphold the proceedings of the court.³ The sole management of the case devolved upon the surviving

¹ According to the Report of the Judgment of Sir C. Chambers, he said:—"Neither Moro Raghunath, the boy in whose favour the writ has been issued, nor Pandurang Ramchander, the person who detains him in custody, are subject to the jurisdiction of the court (according to the declarations of the Charter); and if the court have any authority, it must be founded upon some other principle of a wider and more extensive influence."—*Asiatic Journal* for April, 1829, p. 491.

² On the 18th August, 1828.

³ Judgment was pronounced on the 29th of September. Sir C. Chambers died in the middle of October.—*Asiatic Monthly Journal* for April, 1829, pp. 489, 506.

judge, Sir J. Grant. Prior to the death of his colleague, an effort was made by the Government of Bombay, to recall the judges to a dispassionate consideration of the mischievous consequences of the course they were pursuing; and an informal, but temperate and respectful, letter was addressed to them by Sir J. Malcolm and the other members of the Council, requesting the court to abstain from acts which must produce a collision between the authorities, until the result of a reference to the Court of Directors should be known; announcing, that in the mean time they had directed, that no returns should be made to any writ of Habeas Corpus, directed to officers of the provincial courts or to any native subjects not residing in the island of Bombay. This letter was not only disregarded, but the sending of it was treated by the judges as a presumptuous and impertinent derogation from their dignity, an unwarrantable attempt to obstruct the independent distribution of justice, and an act both highly unconstitutional and criminal. The letter formed also the subject of a voluminous petition to the Privy Council by Sir John Grant; and in the mean time further processes were issued for the bringing of Moro Raghunath to Bombay. The execution of these was resisted by order of the Government, to the extent of placing a native guard at the dwelling of Pandurang Ramchander. An attachment against the person of the guardian was next served through the Government: but, as they persisted in refusing to recognise the power of the court, Sir John Grant thought it incumbent upon him to close the court altogether for a season. This measure drew from the Government a proclamation, declaring its determination to protect the persons and property of the inhabitants of Bombay; and calling upon all classes of the community to give such aid, as would enable it in some degree to alleviate the evils which such a measure was calculated to produce. The Chief Justice replied to this, by denying that the court was closed; and explained his orders to imply, that the functions of the court were suspended simply, not absolutely as was stated in the proclamation, only for a period and under a condition which it was within the power of the Governor and Council to fulfil. A reference was at the same time

BOOK III. made to the Supreme Government, which, declining to
 CHAP. VI. interfere, under the impression that the final decision
 of the Privy Council would be shortly received in Bombay;
 1829. Sir John Grant thought it unadvisable to continue the
 suspension indefinitely; and the proceedings of the court
 were resumed after an interruption of two months.¹ The
 determination of the question was not much longer de-
 layed.

Although overwhelmed with a cloud of words, and obscured by a laboured display of legal learning, the proceedings of the Supreme Court of Bombay, as was confessed by both the judges, were based mainly on two grounds, the powers of his Majesty's Court of King's Bench, and the delegation of the like powers to the Supreme Court of Bombay. According to the dicta of the judges, the Court of King's Bench was empowered, on behalf of the Crown, to issue mandatory or high prerogative writs to all and every one of the subjects of the Crown wherever they might be, even although they should be resident in foreign countries. The writ of Habeas Corpus was a writ of this description, having no reference to suits between party and party, which was the proper interpretation of the term jurisdiction; but, being of universal and irresistible application for the protection of the King's subjects—for "the King ought to have an account why any of his subjects are imprisoned; and it is agreeable to all persons and places, and no answer can satisfy it except the return, *cum causa*, of the reason of the detention, and the *paratum habeo corpus*, the production of the person detained." The Court of King's Bench was entrusted with the power of issuing such writs, because it was always considered the King's Supreme Court of Justice for the exercise of his prerogative. Inasmuch, therefore, as the people of India were, according to the principles of the constitution, to be regarded as the subjects of the King, they were, without any exemption or exception, amenable to his authority, as administered by the Judges of his Court. There was not a native of India resident within the dominions over which the East India Company was permitted to hold temporary rule (but which were in law and fact dominions of the

¹ From 21st April to the 17th June, 1829.

Crown), to whom a high prerogative writ, such as the Habeas Corpus, might not be issued, and who was not bound at once and without reservation to obey it. BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

As, however, the remoteness of the two countries rendered it inconvenient for the Court of King's Bench sitting at Westminster to be applied to on every occasion on which the liberty of the subject might be endangered, it had become necessary that the same high trust should be exercised by delegation; and such vicarious powers were conferred upon His Majesty's Courts at all the Indian Presidencies. This was a totally different thing from the question of jurisdiction; which was merely a power given to the Court, within certain local limits, to determine the rights of parties in adverse suits, according to the laws prevailing within those limits, and to award compensation for any wrong or injury that had been committed by one party against the other. Under such limitations, the court could not be empowered to issue a prerogative process; but that such was not the intention of the Charter, was evident, from its further provisions and the specification which constituted the Court the representative in India of the Court of King's Bench, and gave to the Judges, individually and collectively, throughout the territories subject to the Presidency of Bombay, all the authority which the Judges of the Court of King's Bench had within the limits of England—meaning, in fact, that they should have the same power of watching over and securing the liberty of the subjects of the Crown, without any distinction of colour or religion, as the Judges in England possessed with respect to the European subjects of the realm. It was not, therefore, an unwarranted stretch of jurisdiction in the technical sense of the term, which induced the Judges to issue the orders to a Mahratta chief, resident at Poona and out of their jurisdiction as far as regarded a writ at common law, but the fulfilment of their obligations, as the representatives of Majesty, and the exercise of that sovereign power, which was the undoubted privilege and prerogative of the Crown.

That the wording of the Charter, and the absence of any clear definition as to the meaning of the designation "British Subjects," furnished a plea for the pretensions of

BOOK III. the Court, could scarcely be denied ; but at the same
CHAP. VI. time there can be no reasonable doubt of the intention
1829. of the Legislature, which, without compromising the rights
of the Crown to territory conquered by its subjects, had
invested the Company with the sovereign authority over
the natives of India, in the obvious meaning of that
denomination. In restricting the jurisdiction of the
English Courts to the Presidencies, and to the British-
born subjects in the Provinces, it had never purposed to
confine the term to the technical application given to it
by the Judges of the Court of Bombay, and to sanction
processes — which, whatever their origin, had the effect
of bringing persons before the Court, who, even by the
admission of the Bench, were not amenable to its judg-
ment as plaintiffs or defendants. By restricting the
authority of the Courts to certain specified persons in the
provinces, the exemption of all others was necessarily
implied, and it was placed beyond all doubt by the sanc-
tion which the Supreme Legislature had given to the
local governments, to appoint judges, and institute courts,
and devise processes, and originate laws for all those who
were not amenable to the King's Courts. If the power
of the King's Bench had been delegated to the English
Courts in India, the powers of the sovereign had been
also delegated, with certain exceptions, to the Indian
Government, subject alone to the authority of the Supreme
Legislature, the Parliament, and the Crown ; and in their
place, in all that concerned the natives of India beyond
assigned limits, they were reigning supreme over all the
Courts of Judicature whatever. One advantage of these
disputes was the determination of the question. The
petition of Sir John Grant to the Privy Council, and the
arguments of his advocates, exhausted all that could be
urged in defence of the Court of Bombay, to no avail ;
the judgment of the Council, confirmed by the King, pro-
nounced the Judges to be in error, and decided that the
writs of Habeas Corpus were improperly issued ; and
that the Supreme Court of Bombay had no power or
authority to issue a writ of Habeas Corpus, except when
directed either to a person resident within those local
limits wherein such Court had a general jurisdiction ; or
to a person out of such local limits, who was personally.

DECISION OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

subject to the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.¹ The decision was received by the natives of the provinces, under the Bombay Presidency, with universal satisfaction; although, in Bombay itself, a different feeling seems to have prevailed.²

The discussions at Bombay, and questions of a similar nature, but investigated in a very different spirit, induced the Government of Bengal in communication with the Judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, to take into consideration the means of securing the co-operation of the two authorities in framing laws for the administration of justice, and preventing the recurrence of conflicting jurisdiction. In the actual state of the law there were many and obvious defects, which the prospective alterations in the relations between Great Britain and India were likely to render still more embarrassing; for which anticipatory remedies could not be provided, and which could not be at all times conveniently referred to the only authority competent to correct them—the Parliament of Great Britain. It was, therefore, concluded by the Government, that it was a matter of urgent expediency

¹ It has not been thought necessary to detail the circumstances of another case, in which the Court issued a writ of Habeas Corpus to compel the keeper of the gaol at Thanna to produce the person of a prisoner detained under an order of one of the Company's Judges; but as this formed one subject of the inquiry, the case was provided for by the two following decrees of His Majesty in Council: "The Supreme Court has no power or authority to issue a writ of Habeas Corpus to the gaoler or officer of a Native (Company's) Court, as such officer, the Supreme Court having no power to discharge persons imprisoned under the authority of a Native Court;" and "the Supreme Court is bound to notice the jurisdiction of the Native Court without having the same specially set forth in the return to a writ of Habeas Corpus."—As. Monthly Journal, July, 1829, p. 124.

² In an address to the Governor from the natives of Poona, referring to an address from the natives of Bombay to Sir J. P. Grant, in which it had been asserted that the extension of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to the provinces would be gratifying to the whole population, they declare "that they have received the intelligence with dismay and grief;" and, referring to the transaction which had given rise to the discussions, observe, "Last year when a process was issued against Pandurang Ramchander Dhamdhari, a representation of our fears of the infringement of our privileges was made to the Government. The Government was pleased to answer us by an assurance that our fears were groundless; and the subsequent measures which saved the honour of the house of the Dhamdhari, inspired the community with confidence"—and they conclude by "imploping the Government to lose no time in transmitting to the home authorities their prayer, that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Bombay will not be extended to their province;" signed by two thousand persons, including all the principal chiefs. There can be no doubt that this was the genuine expression of the sentiments of the native population everywhere beyond the limits of Bombay. Asiatic Monthly Journal, Feb. 1831, p. 80. See also Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, 1st Sept. 1831.

BOOK III. the aid of an additional member of Council.
 CHAP. VI. the Court of Directors from among other
 1872. their servants, subject to the confirmation
 such additional member not to be entitled
 in Council, except at meetings thereof for the
 regulations. The Court of Directors was
 repeal any acts and regulations so made; and
 the enactment was to bar the controlling
 powers of the Parliament. In India, however,
 the Council were to have the force
 of the Government with an arbitrary power
 Parliament, and to be similarly obeyed. These
 armed the Government with an arbitrary power
 however foreign to the British constitution, was
 the political circumstances of India, and which
 liable to abuse, as long as the control of the hon-
 ority was vigilant and effective.

The greater part of these important measures
 either accomplished or brought into an advanced
 progress within the first two years of Lord William
 Bentinck's administration. At the end of that period
 Governor-General determined to make a protracted
 in the Upper Provinces, having previously, on two
 occasions, paid brief visits to some of those
 readily accessible from Calcutta. Besides the conven-
 ence of communicating more readily with the sev-
 eral states in alliance with the British Government,
 principal object of the journey was the conclusion
 some definite arrangement for the settlement of the
 revenue of the Western Provinces upon a more permanent
 footing than had yet been established. Arrangements
 which had been adopted ten years before for the determi-
 nation of the preliminary steps taken for the ascertain-
 ment of the capabilities of the land, and the rights of
 occupants, had still to be carried into effect. Little or no
 progress had been made. In many of the districts, no
 settlements had been concluded; in those in which some
 few villages had been settled, scarcely any had been con-
 firmed; and, in the greater number, periods, varying from
 twenty years to something less than a century, were

¹ In January, 1829, Lord W. Bentinck visited the Bengal provinces of
 Purneah, Bungee, and Dinagepore; and in the first three months of 1830
 Behar, Benares, and Gornagepore; returning through Tirhut.

spoken of as necessary for the termination of the task. BOOK III.
 This failure was ascribed partly to the want of precise CHAP. VI.
 instructions for the guidance of the collectors; partly to
 the infinite number and minuteness of the details to be
 investigated; but partly also to the laborious and dis-
 tasteful character of the duty, inspiring a marked disincli-
 nation to carry it on in many of the functionaries charged
 with its performance.¹ To give a fresh impulse to the
 inquiry, and determine by what means a satisfactory set-
 tlement might be accomplished within a reasonable period,
 were the especial objects of the Governor-General's com-
 munications with the revenue officers who were summon-
 ed to form committees at the several stations on his way
 up the country, to discuss questions connected with the
 revenue management. The subject was unremittingly
 agitated during his residence in the hills, and was brought
 to a close on his return by a personal conference with the
 members of the Sudder Board for the Western Provinces,
 some of the chief revenue officers of the same, and the
 officers of the Survey Department, held at Allahabad, in
 January, 1833. The arrangements proposed in conse-
 quence, received the sanction of the Governor-General in
 Council in the following March. They differed from those
 proposed by the earlier enactment, chiefly in their simpli-
 fication, and in the omission of various heads of inquiry,
 which; however desirable to be known, were not indispen-
 sable to a just and accurate assessment, and the ascer-
 tainment of which involved a disproportionate expenditure
 of labour and time. They were still, however, based upon
 general surveys of the areas of the village lands and the
 measurement and registration of individual fields: the
 former conducted by European officers; the latter, by
 native surveyors under European superintendence. The
 results of the general survey were embodied in a map;
 those of the field survey were preserved in village re-
 gisters. The surveys specified also the proportion of
 cultivated, culturable, and waste land; and noticed any
 circumstances favourable or unfavourable to cultivation,
 although it was not thought necessary to enter into a

¹ Letter from Governor-General to Sudder Board of Revenue, on Depu-
 tation, par. 70.—Report Comm. House of Commons, 1832, Revenue, Ap-
 pendix III., No. 82.

BOOK III. road. On arriving at a place favourable for the safe execution of their project, a strip of cloth, or an unfolded turban was suddenly thrown round the neck of the victim, the ends of which were crossed and drawn tight by some of the party, while others secured the feet and hands, until life was extinguished. The dead body was then plundered of everything of value, and buried in a hole dug in the ground, in a place little exposed to observation. Whatever the number of the travellers, not one was suffered to escape, as the Thugs took care always considerably to out-number those whom they intended to attack. Scouts were stationed to intercept or give notice of approaching passengers; and every vestige of the deed of violence was carefully obliterated; nor could the circumstances of its perpetration be ascertained, as no evidence was procurable, except that of the Thugs themselves; and they were bound to secrecy by the most solemn oaths they could devise—as well as by their own interests—the habits of their lives, and the influence of a blind and mischievous superstition.

The practice of committing murder, in the mode pursued by the Thugs, was common to a number of associations, who, although composed of persons of different religions and castes, and inhabiting very distant parts of India, were identified as a confederacy of criminality, and were known to each other, wherever they met, by a system of secret signs, and a peculiar conventional dialect. The members of each gang were taught from their earliest youth, to consider the commission of murder by means of the noose as their hereditary calling, and to regard themselves as the mere instruments of destiny, whose irresistible will was to be necessarily accomplished by them, and exempted them from all responsibility. The boy was at first employed as a scout, and not permitted to witness the proceedings of his seniors; as he grew older, he was allowed to see and handle the corpse of the victim, and assist in the interment; and when he attained manhood, and displayed adequate strength and resolution, he was intrusted with what had then become to him an object of ambition, the application of the noose. Previous to the murder, he went through a form of mysterious initiation by one of the elders whom he chose for his Guru or spirit-

ual guide. The influence of education and example were thus confirmed by a solemn rite; and the Thug proceeded in his career with no feelings of compunction or remorse. Nor was he, in general, in other respects cruel or sanguinary. He looked upon the plunder of travellers as his professional avocation, and their murder as the necessary condition of his own security — sanctioned by divine indications, and the approbation of his tutelary divinity.¹

BOOK-III.
CHAP. VI.
1831.

Many of the Thugs, in all parts of India, were Moham-medans; but being wholly ignorant of the principles of the Koran, and having admitted Hindu castes into the confederacy, they had borrowed from their associates many of the superstitious notions of degenerate Hindupism, and the especial veneration of Devi, Durga, or Bhavani, the bride of Siva, under one or other of those terrific forms which, according to the Pauranic legends, she assumed for the destruction of malevolent spirits, but in which she is now held by popular credulity to be the particular patroness of all vagabonds, and thieves, and murderers. In common with Hindus of all classes, the Thugs attached great significance to signs and omens; the appearance of birds, beasts, or reptiles, the cries they uttered, the direction in which they accompanied or crossed the path — and similar accidents which they, however, were singular in ascribing to the immediate influence of Devi, and interpreting as indications of her pleasure with regard to the prosecution of their enterprises. The omens were so numerous, that a right knowledge of them was difficult to be acquired; and to a mistaken interpretation the Thugs ascribed any disappointment or calamity that might befall them. Besides observing the usual Hindu festivals of which Durga or Kali is the presiding goddess, and occasionally presenting

¹ "A Thug leader, of most polished manners and great eloquence, being asked one day, in my presence, by a native gentleman, whether he never felt compunction in murdering innocent people, replied with a smile, 'Does any man feel compunction in following his trade, and are not all our trades assigned us by Providence?' The native gentleman said — 'How many people have you killed with your own hands in the course of your life?' 'I have killed none.' 'Have you not just been describing to me a number of murders?' 'Yes, but do you suppose I could have committed them? Is any man killed from man's killing? Is it not the hand of God that kills him, and are we not instruments in the hand of God?' — Sleeman, *Ramsiana*, voce *Bhur-tote*. The doctrine is genuine Hindualism, understanding by the term God — Time or Destiny — or, rather, the inevitable consequences of pre-existence manifested in a present life, which is what the Hindus mean by destiny.

BOOK III. offerings at her most celebrated temples,¹ the priests of
 CHAP. VI. which were sometimes connected with the gangs, the

Thugs solemnised special feasts in her honour, and presented to her goats, rice, fruits, and spirits; and after every murder it was their invariable custom to offer to her, with due ceremony, a piece of silver and a quantity of molasses, of which latter those only of the party who had previously applied the fatal noose were permitted to participate. The credulity with which the Thugs trusted in the peculiar favour of the goddess was unbounded; and to her displeasure were attributed the apprehension and punishment of their leaders by the officers of the British Government.

According to their own traditions, the different clans of Thugs sprang originally from seven tribes, who were all of the Mohammedan faith, in the vicinity of Delhi. They were dislodged from their haunts as recently as the seventeenth century, and had since spread throughout Central India, and penetrated to the Dekhin. The majority are still Mohammedans; but there are also among them low caste Hindus, and it is obvious that the former have borrowed their superstitions from the latter. The employment of the noose as an offensive weapon in war, and an instrument of punishment in peace, is of remote antiquity, and was common among both the ancient Persians and the Hindus.² The existence of a set of murderers by whom it was used, was known to early travellers in India. As results from the tradition of their dispersion, the native princes sometimes inflicted on them the punishment they

¹ Especially at Kalighat, at Calcutta, and Vindhya-vasini, near Mirzapur. The latter is the favorite resort of all the miscreants of the western provinces. It was visited by the author, in 1820, and presented an extraordinary assemblage of most atrocious-looking vagabonds.

² A tribe, that of the Sagartii, is noticed by Herodotus, as using the noose in battle, and the use continued to be familiar to the Persians to the 10th century, as it is frequently made mention of by Firdausi, as—"He threw the well-twisted Kamand (noose, or lasso), and bound them fast upon the spot;" and "when the kamand was cast from the hand of Rustam, the diademed head was caught in the coil." The Pasa, or noose, although most appropriated to the Hindu divinity of the ocean, Varuna, is borne by several others, as by Yama, the regent of death, by Siva, Vishnu, Ganesa, and the goddess Devi; it also appears as an implement of war among the mystical weapons, with which Rama was equipped by Viswamitra—"I give thee the noose of Dharma, and also the noose-weapon of Kala, difficult to be resisted—and likewise the highly-venerated noose of Varuna."—Ramayana, Book i., chap. 30. The existence in India of robbers who murdered by strangling, is mentioned by Tavernier.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THEM.

deserved, but the subordinate chiefs and the officers of the states of Western India, commonly connived at their crimes, and allowed them to settle within their jurisdiction, in consideration of sharing in their spoils, and on condition that they should not follow their nefarious practices in the districts which they inhabited. With the transfer of the country to the British Government, and the extension of its influence, there was an end of connivance; and as soon as the nature of their organisation was understood, active measures were instituted against the Thugs. In the Mysore country, many were apprehended as early as 1799; and in 1807, others were secured and punished, in the district of Chitur. The territories obtained from the Nawab Vizir, were found to swarm with these and other murderous bands, and many individuals were brought before the Courts of criminal justice, by which a considerable number were sentenced to imprisonment or death, and the gangs were, in consequence, much reduced in strength; and many were intimidated into emigration from the Company's districts. The anarchy that prevailed in Malwa and Rajputana, attracted them to that quarter; and the restoration of order slowly and imperfectly attained, afforded them for a while a rich field for their atrocious depredations. The active pursuit of the Company's Government followed upon their footsteps. The services of the Gwalior contingent horse were directed against them by order of the Marquis of Hastings, although probably with little benefit. In 1820, a large gang was apprehended in the valley of the Nerbudda by General Adams. In 1823, a still larger body, amounting to one hundred and fifteen, was arrested by Mr. Molony, in the same valley, on their return from the Dekhin; and a numerous gang was secured in the same locality by Major Wardlaw. In the two last instances, the prisoners were convicted; in the first, they escaped; and in the trials before the judges in the provinces where the regulations prevailed, the forms of the criminal courts, and the provisions of the Mohammedan law, were too often favourable to the acquittal of the culprits. Although checked, therefore, the crime was nowhere extirpated; and the Thugs, protected by the corruption of the petty landholders, and native revenue and police officers, and by the reluctance of

BOOK III. the natives to appear as accusers before the Company's
 CHAP. VI. courts, continued for a season to pursue their murderous
 1831. practices with comparative impunity. In 1829, arrangements were made under the orders of the Government for their more effectual suppression, particularly in the Saugar and Nerbudda territories, where they most abounded. The Political Commissioner, in charge of the districts, Mr. F. C. Smith, who, in his judicial capacity, had manifested great activity and vigour in bringing these malefactors to punishment, was invested with full powers to subject the Thugs who were apprehended, to summary trial and conviction upon the evidence of accomplices; and an officer equally distinguished for his successful exertions and familiarity with the duty, Major Sleeman, was appointed under him Commissioner for the suppression of the crime, having the especial duty of superintending the operations of the arrest of the Thug gangs, and collecting the evidence for the cases in which they were to be committed for trial. At a subsequent date,¹ several other officers were charged with a similar superintendence, in subordination to the General Superintendent, for conducting the operations south of the Nerbudda, those between the Ganges and the Jumna, and those in Rajputana, Malwa, and the Delhi territories, or in communication and under the orders of the Residents at Hyderabad and Lucknow. Such were the efficiency of the system, and the activity of the superintendents, supported by the concurrent exertions of the political functionaries in Hindustan, that, in the course of six years, from 1830 to 1835, two thousand Thugs had been arrested and tried at Indore, Hyderabad, Saugar, and Jubulpore, of whom about fifteen hundred were convicted and sentenced either to death, transportation, or imprisonment. Many died in confinement: a number were pardoned in consideration of the value of their evidence, but their character with their confederates was destroyed; and the consequence was, the reduction of the gangs to a few scattered and intimidated individuals who had contrived to elude the pursuit of justice. That the crime is wholly extirpated, is scarcely to be hoped; but its commission has become infrequent; and peaceable travellers and

¹ Resolution of the Government of India, Jan. 7, 1835. — *Monthly Asiatic Journal*, from the *Government Gazette*, vol. xvii. p. 124.

traders have of late years pursued their way along the roads of Central India, without dread of falling a prey to the insidious arts and murderous practices of men more merciless and destructive than the savage denizens of the adjacent forests.¹

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

1835.

The efforts made in the territories more favourably circumstanced, to promote the advance of useful knowledge, received from the Governor-General the most solicitous encouragement; and considerable progress was made under his auspices, in the multiplication of educational establishments, and the cultivation of the English language and literature. English classes or seminaries were instituted at several of the principal stations in the Upper Provinces, as well as in Bengal; while at the same time the system of native study pursued at the colleges exclusively appropriated to the education of Hindus and Mohammedans, was diligently superintended and improved, and was in the course of being rendered co-operative in the dissemination of sound knowledge, by providing instructors qualified to enrich their own literature through the medium of translations from the English language. Influenced, however by the examples of extraordinary progress in English made at Calcutta, under peculiarly favourable circumstances, and misled by advisers, who had no knowledge of India, or its people, beyond a limited intercourse with the Anglicised portion of the inhabitants of the metropolis, Lord W. Bentinck, shortly before his departure, adopted the notion that English might be made the sole channel of instruction; and resolved, that all the funds appropriated to the purposes of education should be employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language.² In order to carry this resolution into effect, the endow-

¹ Most of the chief peculiarities of these gangs were described several years ago by Dr. Sherwood, of the Madras service, by whom an article "On the Murderers called Phandigars," was published in the 12th volume of the Asiatic Researches, Calcutta, 1820. A supplementary notice of the Thugs, and other predatory clans in the Central Provinces, was extracted from the official report of the Superintendent of Police for the Western Provinces, dated in 1815. The latest authentic information is furnished by Colonel Sleeman, in his *Barrakpore; or, Vocabulary of the Sanskrit Dialect of the Thugs; with an Introduction and Appendix Descriptive of their practices, and containing reports of proceedings on their trials.* Calcutta, 1826. And in his *Report on the Depredations of the Thug Gangs from 1830-7 to 1839.* Calcutta, 1841.

² Resolution of Government, 7th March, 1835. Appendix, Report of Committee of Public Instruction for 1835. Calcutta, 1835.

BOOK III. ments heretofore granted to the students of the native
 CHAP. VI. colleges were to be resumed, and the colleges themselves
 1835. were to be abolished upon the diminution of the number
 of students, which was effectually provided for by de-
 priving them of their principal and often only means of
 prosecuting their studies. In this exclusive encouragement
 of the study of English, the circumstances of the great
 body of the people were wholly disregarded. In Calcutta,
 where a considerable portion of the more respectable in-
 habitants were in constant and intimate association with
 Englishmen of every degree, and where numbers found
 employment in public or private offices, there were both
 an extensive want of the language and abundant facilities
 and ample leisure for its acquirement. Beyond Calcutta
 the accomplishment was of no practical usefulness, and no
 inducement existed to engage in a necessarily long and
 arduous course of study. It was, therefore, evidently im-
 possible that it should be cultivated to any extent; and
 all attempts to introduce it universally, could be attended
 with but imperfect success. The great truth was also
 overlooked, that a national literature can only co-exist
 with a national language; and that as long as knowledge
 is restricted to a foreign garb, it can be the property only
 of the few who can command leisure and opportunity for
 its attainment. It was obvious that a language so difficult
 as English, and so utterly discordant with every Indian
 dialect, could never become the universal medium of in-
 struction; and that, even if it should be extensively
 studied, which, beyond certain narrow limits, was highly
 improbable, it would constitute the literature of a class—
 never that of the people. The means of improving the
 spoken dialects, and fitting them to become the vehicles of
 sound instruction, were at hand in the languages considered
 classical by Hindus and Mohammedans, the Sanscrit and
 Arabic, and through them an easy passage might be found
 for the infusion of European thought into vernacular
 expression; but whether they were to be employed as had
 previously been done in accomplishing the object, or
 whether it might be more expedient to attempt the lite-
 rary use of the spoken languages at once, it was undeniable
 that the exclusive encouragement of English was unjust
 to the native literary classes, and was of no benefit to the

bulk of the population. The better judgment of Lord W. Bentinck's successor, Lord Auckland, while it gave the most liberal encouragement to the extension of English study, rescued the native colleges from the misappropriation of the funds specially assigned to them; and by a liberal distribution of scholarships to all the seminaries alike, remedied in some degree, the discontinuance of the subsistence-allowances, on which most of the students, like the poor scholars of the middle ages in Europe, had been accustomed, under all previous rule, Hindu, Mohammedan or Christian, to depend.¹

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.

1835.

A new and important era in the communication between the East and West, dates from the period of Lord W. Bentinck's administration; when the powers of steam were first applied to contract the interval which divides Great Britain from British India. The result of the first trial, in which a vessel, the *Enterprise*, depending partly upon steam and partly upon sails, followed the usual route round the Cape of Good Hope, was not encouraging, as little saving of time was effected.² An attempt was made to open a route by the Euphrates, and thence down the Persian Gulf to Bombay; but this was undertaken upon most inaccurate views of the capabilities of the river, and the lawless condition of the Arab tribes upon its borders. The project after an unprofitable expenditure of time and money, was not persisted in. The more feasible route was soon ascertained to be that by the Red Sea, from the several Presidencies to Suez, and across the isthmus to Alexandria. The first voyage was made by the *Hugh Lindsay* from Bombay, which she left on the 20th of March, 1830. She arrived at Suez on the 22nd of April; being thirty-two days on the passage. In her next voyage, in December of the same year, the time was diminished to twenty-two days. Subsequently other voyages succeeded, which established the practicability of the route, the pos-

¹ Minute of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, Nov. 24th, 1839. App. Report General Committee of Public Instruction, 1839-1840. The latest reports from the North-Western Provinces show, that the demand for the English language is extremely limited; while that for useful knowledge, diffused through numerous publications in the spoken languages, is rapidly augmenting.

² The *Enterprise* sailed from Falmouth on the 16th of August, 1825, and arrived at Diamond Harbour, 7th December; having been, therefore, more than three months on the voyage.

BOOK III. sibility of navigating the Red Sea throughout the year, and
 CHAP. VI. the probability of accelerated despatch.¹ It only remained,
 1835. therefore, to complete the line of communication, by providing for the voyage between Egypt and England; and this was accomplished by arrangements concluded between the East India Company and His Majesty's Government, upon the recommendation of a select committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1834 to investigate the subject. Those arrangements have since been perfected and the communication between regions separated by a fourth of a circumference of the globe, requires now a smaller number of weeks than it formerly did of months for its accomplishment.²

The augmentation of the commerce of British India, which had at first ensued upon the removal of all restrictions upon private trade, had not latterly indicated any disposition to advance; and the value of both exports and imports in the last year of Lord W. Bentinck's government, fell considerably short of that of the first year of his predecessor's administration.³ This was partly ascribable to the reduced prices of the principal articles of the commerce with Great Britain, particularly cotton goods, in which a larger quantity represented a smaller sum. It was partly owing also to the shock

¹ In 1836, the Government of Bombay congratulates the Court upon the arrival of despatches from London in fifty-eight, forty-five, and sixty-four days. Report of Committee, 1837. Statement of Sir J. Hobhouse, Later years have witnessed their conveyance in half the time.

² Reports of Select Committees of the House of Commons on Steam Communications with India, 1834 and 1837. Lord W. Bentinck presided on the latter occasion, and was examined as a witness. It may be doubted if the advantages he so sanguinely anticipated have been, or ever will be, realised. "It is," he observes, "through the means of a quite safe and frequent communication between all India and England, that the natives of India in person will be enabled to bring their complaints and grievances before the authorities and the country; that large numbers of disinterested travellers will have it in their power to report to their country at home, the nature and circumstances of this distant portion of the empire. The result, I hope, will be to rouse the shameful apathy and indifference of Great Britain to the concerns of India; and by thus bringing the eye of the British public to bear upon India, it may be hoped that the desired amelioration may be accomplished." Report, Steam Committee of House of Commons, p. 190.

³ The value of the trade of the three Presidencies at the several periods, was as follows:—

		Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1822-3	- -	£8,600,000	10,690,000	19,290,000
1834-5	- -	7,654,000	9,675,000	17,329,000
Less	- -	£916,000	1,015,000	1,961,000
				MSS. Returns.

which credit received in the beginning of 1833, when all the oldest established commercial houses in Calcutta became suddenly insolvent to an enormous extent. These firms, not more than five in number, had been settled for more than half a century in Bengal, and, under the wing of the East India Company's monopoly, had appropriated almost exclusively that portion of the trade with the countries of the East, or with the United Kingdom, which the Company relinquished to private enterprise. Under this system they enjoyed security and prosperity, and the unbounded confidence of both natives and Europeans. With the usual short-sightedness of commercial insatiability, they nevertheless joined in the clamour against the East India Company's exclusive privileges, and contributed essentially to their abolition. But with the opening of the trade, started up a host of competitors, diverting no inconsiderable portion of their profits, and provoking them to emulative and fatal speculation. The consequences were their downfall; the ruin of thousands whom their long-recognised stability had tempted to entrust them with their fortunes; and a check to the commercial prosperity of Calcutta, and an injury to its mercantile credit from which it was slow to recover. The mischief was, in some degree, aggravated by the financial measures of the Government.

Encouraged by the success which had attended the reduction of the rates of interest from the higher proportions which had previously prevailed, to the more moderate rate of five per cent., and being in possession of a superabundance of cash, the Government of Bengal made an attempt, in 1824, about the beginning of the Burma war, to carry the reduction still further, and opened a loan at four per cent. per annum. It was soon found, however, that the growing wants of the state were not likely to be supplied on terms so inferior to the market value of money; and in the following year, the rate of five per cent. was reverted to, with the permission to holders of the four per cent. securities to transfer them to the new loan. The interest was also made payable by bills on Europe, and above ten millions were readily raised upon these conditions. After the close of the Burma war, and the intermission of the heavy demands on the treasury,

BOOK III.
CHAP. VI.
1835.

CHAPTER VII.

Internal Occurrences, — occasional Disturbances, — Tumult raised by Mohammedan Fanatics near Calcutta, — suppressed. — Troubles on the Eastern Frontier. — Asam — Incursions of Singphos. — Kasya Hills, — Murder of Lieutenants Bedingfield and Burlton, — desultory Hostilities, — Submission of the Chiefs, — Surrender of Raja Tirath Sing, — imprisoned for Life, — succeeded by Raja Sing, — Agreement with him. — Kachar, — Assassination of the Raja, — annexed to the British Provinces. — Jyntia, — British Subjects sacrificed, — Land sequestered, — Raja pensioned. — Tenaserim, — Insurrection at Tavoy and Mergui, — defeated. — Malacca, — Demands on the Panghulu of Naning resisted, — deposed from his Office, — Detachment sent against him, — defeated, — Reinforcements sent from Madras, — opposed by the Malays, — advance to Tabo. — The Panghulu flies, — surrenders himself, — Naning annexed to Malacca, — Disturbances on the Western Frontier. — Sambhalpur, — Kole Insurrection in Chota-nagpur. — Bomanghati. — Burrabhūm. — South Western Frontier Provinces placed under a Commission. — Troubles in the Northern Circars and at Kemedi quieted. — State of Mysore, — Misgovernment of the Raja, — popular Insurrections. — Raja deposed. — Mysore governed by a Commissioner. — Visit of Governor-General to the Madras Presidency. — Affairs of Coorg. — Cruelty of the Raja, — Enmity to the British, — Treacherous Designs, — declared an Enemy. — Invasion of Coorg in Four Divisions, — Advance of the First and Second to Madhukaira, — the Third repulsed, — the Fourth obliged to retire, — the Raja surrenders, — sent a Prisoner to Bangalore, — the Province annexed to the British Government. — The Governor-General in the Nilgerhi Hills. — First Council of India. — Change of System proclaimed. — Return of Governor-General to Bengal.

BOOK III. **A**LTHOUGH the progress of legislature and domestic
 CHAP. VII. improvement, which has been described, was undisturbed by any interruption of internal tranquillity of a
 1835. serious nature, yet occasional demonstrations of turbu-

lence and disaffection took place in the interval, which merit notice as characteristic of the temper and feelings of the people, and as illustrative of the advantage of treating them with due consideration, while vigorously repressing any attempt to throw off the restraints which are imposed by all civilised governments upon the passions of the multitude.

BOOK III.
 CHAP. VII.
 1831.

The chief seats of the disturbances in question were the recently acquired provinces on the eastern and western frontiers, inhabited by races little habituated to legitimate control: but, in one instance, the immediate vicinity of Calcutta was alarmed by the unusual occurrence of a tumult, which was not put down without the employment of military force. We have already had occasion to advert to the rise of a fanatical sect among the Mohammedans, originating with Syed Ahmed: the professed object of which was to restore Mohammedanism to its original simplicity, and to purify it from the corruptions which had sprung up in India through the practices of the Shiahs, or followers of Ali; or which had been borrowed from the idolatrous ceremonies of the Hindus. Islam and Kafir, according to the phraseology of the disciples of Syed Ahmed, had become mixed together like Khichri (a dish of pulse and rice), and it was their aim to get rid of the extraneous defilement. They prohibited accordingly the Shia celebration of the Moharram, when prayers are read in commemoration of the death of the Khalif Ali and his sons, and Tazias or representations of their tombs are carried in procession. To demolish a Tazia was, they asserted, as meritorious an act as to break an idol. They denounced also the prevalent custom of going in pilgrimage to the tombs of certain reputed prophets and saints, of offering prayers to them, and making presents at their shrines, and soliciting their intercession for the obtaining of blessings, or the averting of misfortune; such vicarious dependence being, in their doctrine, an impugment of the unity of God, and the most reprehensible blasphemy. Various other popular usages, evidently tinged by Hinduism, were equally condemned. This interference with long cherished abuses, the affectation by these puritans of greater sanctity, and the contumely which they displayed towards all, except

BOOK III. the front. As soon as Zalim Sing made his appearance, CHAP. VII. the enemy, after firing a few shots, abandoned their works and fled to the hills, over which they were driven, with some loss, into the Burma boundary. Advantage was taken of their incursion, by a body of disaffected Asamese, to attack the small British party at Rungpore; but timely intimation of their purpose having been received, they were repulsed and pursued into the thickets.¹ These checks were insufficient to deter the Singphos from renewing their incursions, although attended with repeated discomfiture; and the eastern frontier of Upper Asam can scarcely yet be regarded as secure. To put a stop to the petty insurrections of the Asamese, instigated chiefly by individuals who had held authority under the former native Government, it was determined to effect a partial restoration of the latter. A tract situated in Central Asam was, in consequence, assigned in sovereignty to Purandhar Sing, who, as we have seen, was for a season Raja of Asam, upon condition of subordination to the British Government, and payment of an annual tribute.

Disturbances of a more serious character broke out in the Kasya hills. The village of Nanklao, about half-way between Sylhet and Asam, had been obtained from Tirat Sing, who was considered as the chief of the Kasyas, by an amicable cession; and was intended to be converted into a sanatory station for European invalids, being situated at an elevation of above five thousand feet above the sea, and enjoying a cool and salubrious climate. In April, 1829, the village was suddenly surrounded by a number of armed hill-men, headed by Tirat Sing and other chiefs; and Lieutenant Bedingfield, who, with Lieutenant Burlton and Mr. Bowman, was resident in the place, was invited to a conference. As soon as he presented himself, he was attacked and murdered. Lieutenant Burlton and his companion, with four Sipahis, defended themselves in the house they occupied, till night; and next morning endeavoured to retreat towards Asam. The party made good their retreat till evening, but were then overpowered and murdered. One of the Sipahis alone escaped. The causes of this violence were for some time unascertained; but it appeared to have originated in the dissatisfaction of the

¹ Sketches of Asam, p. 64.

SURRENDER OF THE RAJA.

chiefs with the arrangement into which Tirat Sing had entered with the Political Agent, acknowledging the supremacy of the British Government, and assenting to the formation of roads and stations. He had been treated with as the Raja of the country; but this was an error, as he was only one of an oligarchy of petty chiefs of equal authority: and to pacify their indignation at the powers he had assumed, he joined in the outrage committed at Nanklao. The presence of Europeans, and their transit through the hills, were exceedingly distasteful to all classes; and the feeling was said to be aggravated by the extortion and insolence of the native subordinate officers in their treatment of the Kasyas, whom they forcibly compelled to assist in the labour of making roads and constructing cantonments.¹ So barbarous a mode of expressing their resentment necessarily required retribution; and detachments were sent from Sylhet to punish the offenders. Whenever the troops came in contact with the mountaineers, the latter were easily overthrown and scattered; but the nature of the country protected them from any decisive infliction, and enabled them to prolong the contest. A harassing series of predatory attacks upon the frontier villages of Sylhet and Asam was carried on by the Kasyas through the three succeeding years; and were retaliated by the destruction of their villages by detachments which penetrated into the thickets. The chiefs were at last weary of the struggle; and by the end of 1832, most of them had entered into engagements acknowledging the supremacy of the Company, and ceding the tracts which were required for the communication between Sylhet and Asam, notwithstanding their repugnance to the cession. Those who had taken part with Tirat Sing, submitted to pay a pecuniary fine for having assisted him; but they declined to aid in his apprehension; and the condition was not insisted on. In the beginning of the following year, however, the Raja gave himself up, only

¹ According to Captain Pemberton, the murders of Nanklao were supposed to have been caused by the speech of a Bengali Chaprasi, who, in a dispute with the Kasyas, threatened them with Mr. Scott's vengeance; and told them that they were to be subjected to the same taxation as was levied on the inhabitants of the plains. Although wholly false, the threat excited the alarm, and roused the indignation of the mountaineers, already excited by the insolent demeanour and abuse of the subordinate native agents who had accompanied Mr. Scott into the hills.—Report on the Eastern Frontier, p. 223.

BOOK III. stipulating that his life should not be forfeited. He was
 CHAP. VII. sent as a state prisoner to Dacca. Raja Sing, his nephew,
 1831. a lad of fourteen, was acknowledged as his successor by the
 Kasyas; and the district of Nanklao was restored to him
 by the British Government, on condition of its right being
 admitted to make roads through the hills between Asam
 and Sylhet, and to construct stations, and guard and post-
 houses along the line of road; and the Raja promised to
 supply workmen and materials for constructing the roads
 and keeping them in repair, on being paid for the same;
 to furnish grazing land for as many cattle as the Govern-
 ment should deem it necessary to keep on the hills; to
 arrest and hand over to the British authorities any person
 who might have committed any offence within the limits
 of a British post, and endeavoured to abscond; and to
 submit to payment of a fine for breach of any of the con-
 ditions of the engagement. These measures, and an
 improved appreciation of the advantages of civilised inter-
 course have since allayed the jealousy of the Kasyas, and
 secured a free communication across the hills between
 Asam and the lower provinces of Bengal.¹

The authority of the British Government was still more
 decidedly established in the contiguous provinces of Jyntia
 and Kachar, chiefly through the folly and criminality of
 their native rulers. In the latter, the Raja, Govind
 Chandra, who had been restored to his authority after
 the Burma war, was murdered, in the beginning of 1830,
 by his own guard. He had made himself obnoxious to his
 people, by his preference of Mohammedans and Bengali
 Hindus in the conduct of public business, and by the
 extortion which he practised through their agency. His
 murder was not, however, exclusively ascribable to this
 cause; and although positive proof of his guilt could not
 be adduced, there was no doubt that Gambhir Sing, the
 Raja of Manipur, was deeply implicated in the crime, from
 the perpetration of which he calculated on obtaining the
 government of Kachar. In this expectation he was dis-
 appointed. As there was no acknowledged successor to
 Govind Chandra, and great inconvenience had been

¹ Not fewer than nineteen petty chiefs entered, at different times, into these engagements; but there are others with whom no intercourse has been established.

suffered on the Sylhet frontier, from the imbecile management of the neighbouring districts, by native rule—as the measure also was acceptable to the people, by whom it had been repeatedly solicited—it was determined to annex Kachar permanently to the territories of the Company. The hills east of the western curve of the Barak river were made over to Gambhir Sing; and a tract of country bordering on Asam was guaranteed, under condition of allegiance, to a chief named Tula Ram, whose father, a servant of a former Raja of Kachar, had made himself independent in that part of the country during the anarchy which preceded the Burma invasion. Gambhir Sing died a few years afterwards, in the beginning of 1834, and was succeeded by an infant son, under the protection of the British power.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VII.
1831.

At the end of 1832, the Raja of Jyntia having died, he was succeeded by his nephew; but the Government hesitated to acknowledge his title, unless security could be obtained for the maintenance of order in the country, and the payment of a small annual tribute. It soon appeared that neither could be expected. The subordinate chiefs defied the Raja's authority; and he was wholly without the means of enforcing it. In the time of his predecessor, four men had been carried off from the British territory to be offered as victims to the goddess Kali, who was worshipped by the Raja and his principal ministers. Three were sacrificed—the fourth effected his escape. A peremptory demand was made for the apprehension of the persons principally concerned in this atrocity, at the head of whom was the Raja of Goha, a dependant of the Raj. The demand was not complied with; and it was equally evaded by the reigning Prince, when repeated upon his accession. In order to punish him for his contumacy, and deter the surrounding chiefs from the repetition of an act of barbarous violence, of which previous instances, it appeared, had not been uncommon, it was determined to sequester the possessions of the Raja, in the level land, leaving to him the more hilly portion. Deprived of the resources from the more fertile tracks, the Raja declared himself unable to restrain his disobedient subjects in the hills, and voluntarily relinquished them for a pension, and permission to reside in the British territory:

BOOK III. the terms were acceded to, and Jyntia thenceforth became
 CHAP. VII. a British province.

1831. The loss of power which the change of Government had inflicted upon the Burma functionaries in the Tenaserim provinces, and the reduction in the numbers of the troops by which they were protected, induced some of the chiefs to engage in a rash and ill-supported conspiracy for the repossession of the towns of Tavoy and Mergui. At the first of these, Mung-da, the former Governor made his appearance at the head of about five hundred men; and, although repulsed from an attack on the magazine, he compelled the small party of Madras infantry to retreat to the wharf, and occupied the town. The troops maintained their position, with the assistance of the Chinese settlers, who adhered to the British, until they were reinforced from Moalmmain, when they recovered Tavoy, and succeeded in securing Mung-da and his principal adherents. They were tried for revolt, and executed, and tranquillity was restored. At Mergui no actual collision occurred. The report of an intended insurrection, and the weakness of his detachment—not above fifty Sipahis—impelled the officer in command to abandon the place before any actual demonstration had been made by the insurgents. The defeat of the rising at Tavoy, deterred the conspirators at Mergui from prosecuting their project; and the arrival of a stronger force completed their submission. Some of the ringleaders were seized and punished. Tranquillity was further secured by the death of Ujina, the ex-Governor of Martaban, who had instigated the rebels to their unsuccessful enterprise, and who was murdered by order of the Viceroy of Rangoon, as a turbulent chief, equally troublesome to his own Government and that of its allies.

Military operations of scarcely a more important character, although of more protracted duration, took place at the extremity of the British dependencies, in the Eastern Archipelago, at a somewhat later date. A small district named Naning, lying north of Malacca, had been originally reduced to subjection by the Portuguese, and had continued to acknowledge allegiance to the Dutch, and their successors, the English, to the extent of paying an considerable annual tribute in kind, and accepting the confirmation of their Panghulu, or Head-man, on the occasion

of his accession, by the European Governor of Malacca. BOOK III.
As long as this arrangement lasted, the Malay chiefs of CHAP. VII.
Naning were equally obedient to the British power as they had been to the Dutch; but it had been determined, 1831.
under orders from home, to regard Naning as an integral part of the Malacca district; and in 1828, the Panghulu was required to accede to the revenue arrangements which had been introduced at Malacca, founded on the asserted right of the Government to the Proprietorship of all the lands; and to consent to pay as tribute, one tenth of the produce. A pecuniary compensation was offered to Abd-ul Sayid, the Panghulu, for the relinquishment of his claims. It was also proposed to take a census of the population, and the Panghulu was forbidden to pronounce any judicial sentence, except in trivial matters, but to send offenders for trial to Malacca. The census was allowed to be taken, but the limitation of jurisdiction was resisted, and the right of the Government to appropriate the lands and levy a tenth of the crops, was resolutely denied. The Panghulu, who had established a reputation among his countrymen for extraordinary sanctity, resented the propositions by discontinuing his periodical visits to Malacca, and withholding his tribute altogether. He further incurred the displeasure of the Government by plundering lands within the Malacca boundary, the hereditary property of an acknowledged British subject, from which Abd-ul Sayid claimed a revenue, and disputed the right of the Company to interfere. A proclamation was accordingly issued declaring him in a state of contumacy, and deposing him from his office as Panghulu of Naning. A detachment of one hundred and fifty Sipahis, of the 29th Madras N. I., under Captain Wyllie, having been sent into the district of Naning to enforce the decree of the Commissioner of Malacca, advanced, on the 16th August, 1831, after a slight opposition, to a village about seventeen miles from Malacca, and five from Tabo, the residence of the Panghulu. The difficulty of the country, abounding with jungle, through which narrow footpaths blocked up by felled trees afforded the only access, and the increasing boldness and numbers of the Malays practised in the desultory warfare which the closeness and intricacy of the thicket

BOOK III. favoured, arrested the further advance of the
 CHAP. VII. them off from their supplies, and compelled th

1831.

back in order to maintain the communication
 lacca, to Sanjie Pattaye, where a storehouse w
 and stores had been deposited. Additional troo
 arrived at Malacca, a reinforcement was detach
 party at Sanjie Pattaye; but the road was barri
 the detachment was not strong enough to
 stockades: after sustaining some loss, including
 killed, Lieutenant White, the division returned t
 and orders were despatched to the first party t
 their retreat. This was accomplished with some
 and loss, and with the abandonment of all
 baggage and two field-pieces, which had accomp
 detachment. The defeat of the troops gave fres
 to the Malays. They were masters of all the ope
 and the inhabitants of Malacca trembled for th
 the town.

As it was now apparent that the Settlement
 Straits of Malacca had been left with means i
 to suppress any display of a refractory spirit,
 ments were despatched from Madras; and in 18
 was organised at Malacca, consisting of the 5th
 Madras N. I., a Company of Rifles, two Compani
 pers and Miners, and a detail of European ar
 Artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel
 The force moved on the 2nd March, but had adva
 to Alor Gajeh, not more than fifteen miles from
 by the 5th of April, having been delayed by the
 of clearing a road through the forest, and d
 Malays from the stockades which they had t
 In these operations, several of the Sipahis and I
 Harding fell. At Alor Gajeh, the resistance
 more obstinate, and the force was obliged to
 the defensive. The Malays made repeated attac
 encampment—in repelling one of which Ensig
 was killed. Reinforcements, chiefly of the 46th
 N. I., joined in the course of May; and on the 1
 Tabo was taken, after a feeble defence. The
 and his principal advisers fled for refuge to the n
 ing states. The district was taken possessio
 placed under the management of fifteen differ

hulus, in place of the fugitive, and the people finally settled into order and obedience. Abd-ul Sayid surrendered himself unconditionally, in 1834, and was allowed to remain at Malacca, upon a pension, on condition of his furnishing securities for his peaceable behaviour. Tranquillity was thus restored to the peninsula after a loss of life and waste of expenditure, which might, perhaps, have been avoided by a more conciliatory course of proceeding in the first instance, and by a more efficient application of military force when it was resolved to have recourse to coercion.¹ The justice of the claim in which the quarrel originated, rested upon the same grounds as the occupation of Malacca—the power of the intrusive Government, whether Portuguese, Dutch, or English, to compel the people to obey its orders. The value of the demand, was a poor compensation for the cost of enforcing it: but the annexation of Naning to Malacca was politically advantageous to the latter; and the population of the former has evidently benefited by the change of administration.²

BOOK III.
CHAP. VII.

1832.

Returning to the proper limits of British India, and crossing over to the western frontier, we find the districts in the south in a state of protracted and lawless disorder, arising from causes not very easy to trace, but acquiring intensity and permanence from the undecided and procrastinating policy of the British Government, and the mistaken economy of reducing its military strength below the amount required to awe and control the barbarous border tribes, incapable of understanding the obligation of the engagements which had been contracted with them from time to time, and chafing under the restraints of civilised society, which it was prematurely attempted to impose upon their lawless habits. As long as a strong curb was maintained upon the Koles and Dangas of

¹ Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, by Lieutenant T. J. Newbold, vol. i. chap. 5. Naning. Also, details from the Singapore Chronicle, and in the Monthly Asiatic Journal, N. S., vols. vii. and viii. The same Journal, vol. xi. p. 75, contains extracts from a translation of a Malay document, attributed to a native in the service of the Panghulu, giving an account of the origin and progress of the war. With respect to the former, the justice of any demand on the Panghulu beyond an annual complimentary token of amity and good faith, is strenuously denied.

² The Revenue of 1833-4, was 700 Dollars; in 1835-6, 1240 Dollars. The population at the former period was less than 5,000; at the latter, nearly 6,000.—Newbold, i. 135, 261.

BOOK III. Sambhalpur and Singbhum, by the superintendent, a Political Agent, who was empowered to interfere actively for the preservation of internal peace at his disposal a military force sufficient to overcome refractory, some degree of order was maintained most of the Kole districts enjoyed a condition of progressive prosperity. When the powers of the aggressive troops on the frontier reduced the barbarous tribes relapsed into the indulgence of former propensities, and abandoned the labours of plough for the more exciting avocations of plunder and bloodshed, until their excesses compelled the Government to recur to the only means by which they were repressed, effective supervision, and an adequate military establishment.

Towards the end of 1829, disturbances commenced at Sambhalpur, arising from a quarrel between the agricultural Koles and their Raja. They were appeased at the time by the mediation of the officer commanding the Ramgerh battalion. At the close of the following year they revived; the head-men of several of the dependent districts of Sambhalpur, complaining that the promises of the local government to replace them in the possession of lands which they had lost in opposing the Maharajah had never been fulfilled. The right of the reigning Raja was at the same time disputed by various claimants, and she had become unpopular by the partiality which she displayed towards her own relatives, and the exclusion from office of those of her late husband. Her uncle, who was her chief minister, had rendered himself particularly obnoxious by the rigour with which he exacted the payment of the public revenue. The discontented Ryots took up arms, and, assembling in great numbers, threatened to attack the capital, from which they were diverted by the interposition of the Agent, through whose mediation the lands were restored to their original possessors, and the minister was dismissed. It was necessary, however, to station a military force at Sambhalpur for its security, and ultimately to remove the Rani, who was evidently unable to keep her turbulent subjects in order. She was placed upon a pension; and Narayan Sing, a relation of the last Raja, was elevated to the government.

1832.

Shortly after the settlement of these disorders in Sambhalpur, or at the end of 1831, disturbances of a still more serious and protracted character broke out amongst the subjects of the Company, and of various petty tributary chiefs, in the province of Chota Nagpur, comprising, under that general designation, the forest cantons of Sirguja and Singbhum, as well as the tract more properly known as Chota Nagpur; having Sambhalpur to the south, and the districts of Ramgerh, Hazaribagh, and Palamu on the north, Burdwan and Midnapore on the east, and the sources of the Nerbudda, and part of Nagpur on the west. Although presenting extensive open and fertile tracts, which were partially cultivated, much of the country was overspread with thickets, in which the wild tribes of Koles and Dangas resided under the loose authority of Rajput chiefs, to whom they were personally attached. Some of them followed a savage life, depending for subsistence chiefly on the chase; but numbers also pursued, with various degrees of skill and industry, the occupations of agriculture, from the profits of which they paid a limited revenue to their chiefs. In the open plains also, and those places which were directly under the British authority, besides the Kole population, a number of families from Behar and Bengal had been encouraged by the Zemindars to establish themselves; and, in many instances, the hereditary occupants had been dispossessed in favour of the new settlers, in consideration of the advanced rents which their more industrious habits and skilful cultivation enabled them to afford. The internal government of the several estates was generally entrusted to the chiefs; but they were required to pay a small annual tribute, to prevent robbery and murder within their districts, and to apprehend and give up to the British authorities all fugitives and criminals. In the other parts of the province, the judicial and revenue regulations of the Bengal Government were in force. This state of things was most unpalatable both to chiefs and people: the former felt themselves humiliated by the conditions which made them responsible to the courts of justice and police; and the tributary payments which they were called upon to make, pressed heavily upon their restricted means, and impelled them to levy exactions from their subjects to which they had not been accustomed, or

BOOK III. out by the incessant pursuit of the military detachments, CHAP. VII. and convinced of the hopelessness of the struggle, the people at length manifested a general disposition to throw themselves upon the mercy of the Government; and Achet Sing and the other chiefs and head-men, intimidated by the resolute measures adopted, lent their active aid to restore the pacification of the province. Quiet was accordingly re-established, and the troops were withdrawn. Of the insurgents who had been taken prisoners, a number were detained in custody, and brought to trial before a Special Commission, by whom sentence of death was necessarily pronounced upon a considerable proportion. Taking into consideration, however, the impulses by which they had been actuated, the sentence was remitted, and a general amnesty was proclaimed. The disputes among the chiefs which remained to be adjusted, were settled in the middle of the following year, at a conference held at Srikola by the Agent with all the principal Rajas, and landholders, and heads of villages, when they renewed their promises of fealty and submission, and engaged to obtain compensation for the losses inflicted on the orderly portion of the population. The arrangements subsequently adopted, to which we shall presently advert, confirmed the impression that effected and perpetuated the maintenance of peace and order in Chota-Nagpur.

The same barbarous races were also in a state of tumult about the same period in a different part of the country—on the confines of Cuttack and Midnapore—excited more particularly by false reports, spread among them by the agents of one of their chiefs, in order to make them the instruments of his designs against another. The Zemindar of Bamaughati, having acquired extensive influence among the Koles and Goands in that part of the country, attempted to throw off his dependance on the Raja of Mohurbhunj, and commencing the usual process of indiscriminate devastation, committed acts of outrage on the villages of the Cuttack province. The Commissioner having in vain remonstrated against these excesses, was

They allowed him to approach; and so effectual was the man's eloquence, that they all consented to lay down their arms, and came in crowding round us. The poor wretches seemed greatly delighted at the manner in which the business had terminated."—*Modern India*, by H. Spry, M.D., vol. i. p. 120.

under the necessity of recourse to military assistance, and the 38th Regiment was despatched from Midnapore. The refractory Zemindar was then induced to come into camp and submit his grievances to the arbitration of the Commissioner, which obviated the necessity of active operations. The extreme unhealthiness of the country proved, however, more destructive than any hostile force, and such was its unsparing severity, that not one officer of the corps was capable of exercising command. Several died; and the rest escaped death only by an immediate return to their quarters at Midnapore. The men also suffered, but not to the like extent.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VII.
1832.

The campaign against the Koles of Chota Nagpur had scarcely terminated when the presence of the troops was required in the adjacent districts of Barabhum and Manbhūm; inhabited principally by the tribe of Choars, subject, like the Koles, to Zemindars and Rajas of Rajput descent, and equally addicted, at the instigation of their turbulent lords, to the perpetration of outrage and murder. The cause of the rising of the Choars was sufficiently clear—the strong dislike entertained, by the chiefs especially, for the judicial regulations of Bengal; by which their rank was disregarded, their privileges circumscribed, their power impaired, and they were made personally amenable to the processes of the Court and the authority of the Police. The people took part with their leaders. The Zemindari of Barabhum had been disputed between two brothers; and had been assigned to the elder by decree of the Court. Of the two sons of the successful competitor, the elder, Ganga Govind Sing, became Raja; the younger, Madho Sing, his Dewan or minister, and he incurred extreme unpopularity by his extortionate and usurious demands. He had also treated his cousin Ganga Narayan Sing, the son of the unsuccessful candidate for the Zemindari, with peculiar cruelty and contumely; and had exasperated the resentment which the family contention had engendered. Determined on vengeance, Ganga Narayan collected a body of armed retainers, attacked, and set fire to the official residence of the native judge at Barabazar, whom he accused of favouring his enemies, killed a number of people, particularly Mohammedans, and, forcibly carrying off Madho Sing to the neighbouring hills, put him to death. Notwith-

BOOK III. obliged to retreat. Reinforcements¹ were speedily despatched; and military operations were carried on with an activity which soon produced the desired effects. The leaders of the insurrection were apprehended and punished, and the people submitted.

1832.

Although not exactly of the character of an infraction of domestic peace, yet the situation of the principality of Mysore, and its intimate connection with the Presidency of Fort St. George, identified the disorders by which it was disturbed with those of Madras, and led to its becoming, in a still greater degree, an integral portion of the Presidency. As long as the administration was conducted by the abilities of Purnia, who had been given to the minor Raja as Dewan, Mysore became one of the most flourishing of the native principalities. The people were contented and prosperous; the assessments were light and regularly realised; the revenues exceeded the disbursements; and, upon the retirement of the minister in 1811, there was a large accumulated balance in the treasury. The successor of Purnia, Linga Raj, had neither his talents nor his influence; and the Raja, arrived at mature years, spurned at advice or control. Although not destitute of ability, he was indolent, dissolute, and profusely extravagant, lavishing his wealth upon unworthy favourites, and upon the Brahmins, for whom he entertained a superstitious veneration, and in whose favour he largely alienated his revenue. The hoards of the former administration rapidly disappeared; heavy embarrassments were contracted, and the establishment suffered to fall into arrear. The revenues declined; and to compensate for the deficiency, immoderate exactions were levied upon the people, which were aggravated by the corrupt and oppressive practices of the collectors. The consequences of this mismanagement were brought to the notice of the Raja by the Resident repeatedly, but to little purpose, until 1825, when Sir Thomas Munro deemed it advisable to visit Mysore, and express in person to the Raja the sense entertained by the Government of Fort St. George of his proceedings, and insist upon his adoption of measures of

¹ Detachments of the 8th, 21st, 41st, and 49th Regiments, a company of Goolandars, and a detachment of Sappers and Miners. Gen. Orders, Madras, 1st July, 1834.

reform. Compliance was readily promised; and for some time a better system was pursued; by which the amount of debt was reduced and the expenditure diminished. The Raja, however, soon relapsed into his former prodigality, and by his exactions, forced the people into acts of insubordination. Repeated insurrections took place among the Ryots, in which the revenue officers of the Raja were murdered or driven out of the country; and the disturbances by which Mysore was distracted, began to extend into the Company's territories. The interference of the Resident occasionally succeeded in quieting the people and in obtaining a more equitable adjustment of their assessments; but the quiet was only temporary; and recurrence to a course of extortionate demands provoked the cultivators to a renewal of resistance. Personal and political interests were finally mixed up with the grievances of the people, and were the source of still more alarming disturbances.

The province of Nagar,¹ forming one of the four principal divisions of Mysore, situated on its western borders had been governed with almost absolute sway by the Fojdar, Ram Rao, a favourite of the Raja; who not only exercised intolerable oppression over the Ryots, but encouraged any acts of violence or abuse of authority from which he might reap pecuniary profit. Complaints addressed to the Raja were unavailing, as the interest of Ram Rao, and his connections at court, precluded all hope of redress. At last, in 1830, unable to bear the tyranny of their Fojdar any longer, the Ryots assembled in arms, and invited the peasantry of the other provinces to join them. Many obeyed the summons; and the insurgents were aided by Rangapa Naik of Terukeri, who, with the headmen of Nagar, had, in the preceding year, set up a pretended descendant of the family² which had formerly ruled over the province, in the person of a peasant, Boodi Baswapa of Kaladi, who had obtained from the spiritual guide of a former Raja the signet of the chief; and they professed to acknowledge him as their lawful and hereditary prince. The Raja of Mysore endeavoured to allay the

¹ Or more properly, Bednore. The name was changed after its conquest by Hyder, to Hyder-Nagar, or City of Hyder. The first part of the term has been dropped, and Nagar "the city," alone retained. Wilks's Mysore, i. 47.

² Wilks's Mysore, i. 64.

BOOK III. discontent by advancing to the confines of the district and
 CHAP. VII. professing his readiness to receive and attend to the com-
 1833. plaints of the people ; but, at the same time, officers were
 sent into Nagar with orders to punish and put the insur-
 gents to death. As these measures were ineffective, a
 strong body of Mysore troops—eight hundred Regular
 Infantry, six hundred Silladhar Horse, seven hundred
 Peons armed with matchlocks, and four guns—accom-
 panied and directed by Lieutenant Rochford, an officer of
 the Resident's escort marched into the district, took the
 fort of Kumar Droog, and defeated a considerable body of
 the rebels at Honelly. In these actions, a number of pri-
 soners were taken, of whom a hundred were executed.
 The force then marched to the fort of Nagar or Bednore,
 which had been occupied by the insurgents, and where
 they had hanged a number of the revenue officers, mostly
 Brahmins, towards whom the inhabitants entertained a
 violent antipathy, not only as sufferers from their unmer-
 ciful extortions, but as followers of a different form of
 religious faith, being chiefly Lingaits. Nagar was found
 deserted. Chandraguti, a strong post on the north fron-
 tier, was next captured ; but the insurrection was unsub-
 dued ; and although the peasantry began to be intimidated
 and to return to their cottages, the pretender, supported
 by Rangapa with his son and nephew, Hanumapa and
 Surjapa Naiks, being joined by adventurers from the
 southern Mahratta country, and by the armed Peons of
 Mysore, who cherished a feeling of attachment to the
 Poligars, their ancient lords, continued at the head of a
 force which the unaided means of the Raja of Mysore were
 unable to contend with. Two regiments of N. I., the
 15th and 24th, had already been despatched to the scene
 of action ; and a third corps, the 9th, with two companies
 of his Majesty's 62nd, a squadron of the 7th Native
 Cavalry, and a brigade of guns, with the Mysore contin-
 gent, was despatched, under the command of Colonel
 Evans, in the beginning of 1831, from Bangalore. The
 first movements were unsuccessful ; and a check was
 sustained at Fattehpett, which induced Colonel Evans to
 fall back to Simoga, where the division was concentrated
 and whence it again advanced to Nagar, accompanied by
 the Resident and Dewan, who circulated a proclamation

inviting the cultivators to come in and represent their grievances, and promising them redress. The invitation was promptly accepted, although the Ryots declared that they had been treated with more humanity and justice by Tipu than by the Raja. A conciliatory investigation ensued. Large remissions of revenue arrears were made, and numerous abuses were corrected. Entire confidence was manifested in the British officers; none in those of the Raja; and by the exertions of the former, tranquillity was in some degree restored. The main body of the troops returned to Bangalore; leaving the 9th Regiment and the Mysore troops in the province. The Poligars continued in arms; and although not in any considerable force, were not reduced till some time afterwards. In the mean while, the universality of the disaffection and the evident incapacity of the ruler, rendered it manifest that no hope of permanent pacification could be entertained as long as the Raja was entrusted with the administration; and it was resolved by the British Government to enforce those stipulations of the treaty of 1799, which provided for its conditional assumption of the entire management, of Mysore. The Raja was accordingly divested of all political power, and the principality was placed under the authority of a Commissioner, assisted by four Superintendents, for the divisions of Bangalore, Ashtagram, Nagar, and Chittledroog: a pension was assigned to the Raja equal to one-fifth of the nett revenue. The administration of the country was unchanged in other respects, being carried on by native officers, and on the same principles which had been previously in practice, under the general control and direction of the Commissioner and his assistants, subject to the authority of the supreme Government.¹

The revolution thus effected in Mysore, was followed by a still more radical change in the constitution of the petty principality of Coorg, which was converted by the deposition of its Raja into a province of the Presidency of Madras. The Raja of this small mountainous district, lying between Mysore and Malabar, Vira Rajendra Wudiyar,

¹ These arrangements were made with the concurrence and sanction of the Home authorities. See letters from the Court of Directors to Fort St. George, 6th March, 1832, and 6th March, 1833. *Report Com. H. of C.—Political App. VI. p. 23.*

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

had for some time past been in the habit of perpetrating acts of outrage and ferocity, which could be accounted for only by the ungoverned impulses of insanity: not only were the officers in his service put to death by his orders without any apparent offence, but the inmates of his palace and his nearest relations were not spared in his paroxysms of cruelty; in the height of which he performed the office of executioner, and with his own hands mutilated and murdered in the most savage manner the unhappy objects of his frantic fury.¹ He had long cherished a vehement animosity against the English, and had strictly prohibited all intercourse with the British territories or Mysore. No person was permitted, under the penalty of death, to leave Coorg; and no stranger was suffered to cross its borders except those who had signalised themselves as the opponents of the British Government—like the refractory Poligars of Nagar. In this mood, his resentment was inflamed by the flight of his sister and her husband, both of whom he had threatened to put to death; but who found a shelter from his fury under the protection of the Resident of Mysore. It was in vain that efforts were made to bring him back to the amicable terms which had been maintained with his predecessors, and to prevail on him to refrain from those excesses which had made him a terror to his family and his people. A British officer was despatched with these objects from Mysore to Madhukaira, but the mission was unavailing.² The Raja obstinately refused to allow any intercourse between Coorg and the adjacent provinces, and insisted on his sister and brother-in-law being given up to his revenge. There was reason also to suspect the Raja of secret communication with the Raja of Mysore, exciting him to resist the British Government, and of employing emissaries to seduce the native troops at Bangalore from their allegiance; in consequence of which a plot was concerted by a few desperate and disaffected individuals to seize the fort of Bangalore, murder

¹ After the capture of his capital, seventeen bodies were disinterred by order of a Committee of Inquiry into the charges against the Raja. They had been decapitated or strangled, and thrown together in a pit dug in the jungle: among them were recognised the aunt of the Raja, his sister's child, and the brother of her husband.

² A native agent sent on the same fruitless errand was detained a prisoner by the Raja.

PROCLA

their Europea
ment. The
authorities t
to their emp
bution of t
Coorg with
sufficient r
course, an
British G
independ
British
consequ
it to th
declari
unwor
Gover
cruelt
of det
receiv
letter
Gover
sions
serva
(
whic
Raja
whic
were
mer
to
I
me
Ger
con
men
Ban
Pro

1 C
2 E
3 G
4 H
5 I
6 J
7 K
8 L
9 M
10 N
11 O
12 P
13 Q
14 R
15 S
16 T
17 U
18 V
19 W
20 X
21 Y
22 Z

European officers, and subvert the Company's govern- BOOK III.
ment. The plot was brought to the knowledge of the CHAP. VII.
authorities by some of the Sipahis who remained faithful
their employers, and the guilty suffered the just retri- 1833.
bution of their offence.¹ Without charging the Raja of
being with being accessory to this conspiracy ;² there was
sufficient reason in his prohibition of all friendly inter-
course, and in the tenour of his communications with the
British Government, to treat him as a public enemy, whose
dependence was incompatible with the security of the
British possessions in his neighbourhood ; and it was
consequently resolved to occupy the principality, and annex
the territory of Madras. A proclamation was issued,
declaring that " the conduct of the Raja had rendered him
unworthy of the friendship and protection of the British
Government ; that he had been guilty of oppression and
cruelty towards his subjects ; and had assumed an attitude
of defiance and hostility towards the British Government ;
he had lived and encouraged its proclaimed enemies ; addressed
threats to the Government of Fort St. George and to the
Governor-General replete with the most insulting expres-
sions ; and had placed under restraint an old and faithful
servant of the Company who had been deputed by the
Commissioner of Mysore to open a friendly negotiation : for
such offences Vira Rajendra was no longer to be considered
a friend of Coorg. An army was about to march against him,
which would respect the persons and property of all who
were peaceably disposed ; and such a system of govern-
ment would be established as might seem best calculated
to secure the happiness of the people."³

In order to carry out the purposes of the British Govern-
ment, now under the immediate direction of the Governor-
General, who had come from Bengal to Madras more
conveniently to superintend the different financial arrange-
ments then in progress, and who was now resident at
Bangalore, four several divisions were ordered to enter the
province from as many different points : one from the

General Orders by the Commander-in-chief, Madras, 18th Dec., 1832.
Several Mohammedans of consideration who were convicted of having
abetted the conspiracy of Bangalore, were taken at the capital of the Raja,
and its being occupied by the British troops.

See the Proclamation, 1st April, 1834, Monthly Asiatic Journal, vol. xv.
B.

BOOK III. east, commanded by Colonel Lindesay;¹ one from the
 MAP. VII. west, by Colonel Foulis;² one from the north, by Colonel
 1833. Waugh,³ with a supplementary division under Lieut.-Col.
 Jackson, from Bangalore;⁴ and the fourth, consisting of
 the Wynad Rangers, under Captain Minchin, from the
 west. Colonel Lindesay, who held the general command,
 crossed the Kaveri on the 2nd of April; dispersing a small
 body of the enemy, who appeared disposed to contest the
 passage. On the 5th, after two marches, rendered difficult
 by the nature of the route, the ghat of Arany was forced,
 after a slight opposition; and on the following morning the
 column entered Madhukaira, the capital of Coorg, from
 which the Raja had retreated. A second division of the
 eastern column, under Lieut.-Col. Steuart, which marched
 from Periapatam on the 1st, also crossed the Kaveri on the
 2nd, after putting a body of the enemy to flight. On the
 following day a stockade of some strength, commanding
 the road, was carried after a slight resistance. On the 5th,
 the column advanced to Rajendrapett; skirmishing on its
 march with the Coorgs posted amidst the thickets, but
 without experiencing any serious loss. On the 6th, it
 rejoined Colonel Lindesay at the capital.⁵

The western column, commanded by Colonel Foulis,
 moved from Cananore on the 30th March, and arrived on
 the 2nd April at a small river, driving across it a party of
 the enemy; in which service Lieutenant Erskine of His
 Majesty's 48th Regiment was killed. On the 3rd, the divi-
 sion experienced a resolute resistance, having to carry two
 strong stockades, and to dispute every foot of road up a
 narrow path, obstructed by felled trees and skirted by
 jungle. The troops bivouacked at the foot of the ascent
 to Hugal Ghat; the passage of which was effected on the
 4th, with considerable labour, but without further oppo-
 sition.⁶ On the 5th, the troops moved to Virarajendrapett,

¹ Consisting of his Majesty's 39th, the 36th, and 48th N. I., with a company of European Artillery, with eight guns and 32 Sappers and Miners. Lieut.-Col. Steuart, who was attached to this division, had part of the 39th, and the 4th and 35th, N. I.

² His Majesty's 48th, 20th, N. I., and details of Native Artillery, with four guns and a party of Sappers and Miners.

³ His Majesty's 56th and the 9th, and 31st Regiments, N. I., one company Rifles, detachment of Artillery, and Sappers and Miners.

⁴ Detachment of his Majesty's 48th and 40th Regiment, N. I.

⁵ No officers or men were killed in this division; a few only, privates, were wounded.

⁶ The casualties were,—one officer, Lieutenant Erskine, and eleven privates, killed; two officers and thirty men, wounded.

where they met Colonel Steuart's detachment. On the 7th, the force halted at Matramoody, within eight miles of the capital, now in the possession of Colonel Lindesay.

The northern column, under Colonel Waugh, was less successful than the preceding, and sustained a check, attended with heavy loss. Having entered the Coorg territory on the 1st of April, the division advanced to Rabata on the 2nd, through a difficult country, and harassed on the flanks and rear by parties of the enemy sheltered by the thickets: a breast-work on the summit of a steep ascent was carried with some loss; the Coorgs, commanded by Kongal Naik, one of the refractory Poligars of Terukeri, behaving with resolution. They then fell back to a still more defensible position—the pass of Bak—which, presenting almost insuperable natural obstacles, was rendered still more arduous by a series of formidable stockades. On the following day the force moved at daybreak, and after slowly winding its way up a steep ascent and through an almost impermeable forest, arrived about noon within a short distance of the works, which consisted of lateral palisades following the slope of the hill, and terminating near the summit in a strong transverse barrier. The side works were masked by large trees; the front had a space cleared, forming a sort of glacis—an enemy was therefore exposed as he advanced against it to a cross-fire in flank, as well as a direct discharge in front.

In order to avoid exposing the troops to the consequences of a forward movement, the advance, consisting of a detachment of H. M. 55th, and a party of the 31st Madras N. I. with pioneers, which had been reinforced with the light company of the 55th and the 9th N. I., was ordered to break off into two columns diverging to the right and left, through the forest, so as to assault the lateral stockades from the rear. After toiling with great labour through the thicket, the two parties, either from having missed their way, or from having been misled by the treachery of the guides, issued together on the same spot, within a short distance of the transverse barricade. They were allowed to approach it; but were then assailed by a murderous discharge, by which the foremost were knocked down. The two companies of the 55th and the detachment of the 31st, nevertheless, persisted in attempting to force their way

BOOK III.
CHAP. VII.

1831.

BOOK III. through the barricades in front; but the enemy's fire
 CHAP. VII. became still more insupportable; and after suffering
 1831. severely, the assailants were forced to retire. A reinforcement of the 55th was sent to their aid, and was accompanied by the commanding officer of the regiment, Colonel Mill. The troops again advanced to the principal barrier and endeavoured to carry it by escalade; but the attempt ended in the death or disabling of the assailants; and after a fruitless persistence in the attack, and the loss of many officers and men, the party was compelled to retreat. The Coorgs sallied forth in pursuit, and with their large knives despatched the wounded or wearied, whom they overtook, until the pursuit was checked by covering parties sent from the camp. In this unfortunate affair Colonel Mill of the 55th, Ensign Robertson of the 9th N. I., and Ensign Babington of the 31st N. I., and thirty-six non-commissioned officers and privates were killed, and six officers and one hundred and twenty men were wounded. In consequence of this repulse, Colonel Waugh deemed it expedient to fall back to Rabata, where the brigade remained encamped until the more fortunate movements of the successful columns had cleared the road for its advance to Madhukaira.¹

The Western Auxiliary column moved on the 29th March, and on the following day arrived at Komli, where it halted—having undergone unusual fatigue from the difficulties of the ascent. Resuming the advance, the

¹ Official despatch of Lieutenant-Colonel Waugh, *Monthly Asiatic Journal*, vol. XV., 86; also, *Narrative of Captain Hutchinson*, of the 31st, *ibid.* vol. XVI., 118. A narrative of the action is given in minute detail, and except with some questionable exhibitions of personal complacency, with every appearance of accuracy, by M. de Warren, who was personally engaged in it as a lieutenant of the 55th. According to him, the failure was in a great degree owing to the injudicious precipitancy of the Brigadier, who ordered the attack to be made before the position had been sufficiently reconnoitred, and in opposition to the advice of the Commander of the advance, and of Colonel Mill; and partly to the misconduct of the Sipahis of the 9th regiment. '*L'Inde Anglaise.*' His estimate of the military character of the Sipahis, however, is extravagantly unjust; and his exemplification of their inferiority to Europeans, absurdly misinformed. After giving an exaggerated account of the part taken by the native troops in the discontents of their officers during the administration of Sir G. Barlow, he concludes—"*Les quarante mille Cipayes, réunis par masses, vinrent se briser contre les cinque mille Européens dispersés. Après quelques combats qui coûtèrent la vie à un grand nombre d'indigènes et à quelques officiers Anglais quand un bataillon de Cipayes en quarrément été sabré par les dragons, deux ou trois autres exterminés par les détachemens royaux, tout dût rentrer dans l'ordre.*" "Facts," he remarks, "are stubborn things." There is not a single fact in this illustration of the comparative merits of the European and Native soldiery.—*L'Inde Anglaise*, tom. ii. p. 30.

column proceeded along the road to Belaripett, and on the 3rd April came in front of a strongly-stockaded post of the enemy. A party sent in advance to reconnoitre effected the object; but on its way back to camp was assailed from the cover of the dense jungle on either side by a destructive fire, to which no return could be made, as the Coorgs effectually screened themselves behind the bushes and among the trees. A detachment sent to the relief of the reconnoitring party returned with it to the encampment, but not until many casualties had occurred, and the Sipahis had become dispirited by experience of the disadvantages with which they would have to struggle in the rugged ascent and intricate thickets through which they would have to force their way, and the murderous bush-fighting of the Coorgs, to which they would be exposed with little chance of retaliation. The consequence was, the desertion of many of the native troops and of almost all the camp followers, and the privation of the means of carrying the baggage and stores of the detachment. It was therefore thought advisable to retire to Padampalli, where supplies were expected. The forward movement was resumed on the 5th, and Colonel Jackson again encamped on the ground he had occupied on the 2nd, in advance of Komli, to which place, however, he once more retrograded, having suffered severe loss from the persevering attacks of the enemy, and anticipating their closing upon his rear and cutting off his communications.¹ No further attempt was made to enter Coorg in this direction. Neither was any impression made on the side of Wynad. On the contrary, the Coorgs assumed the offensive, and compelled Captain Minchin to fall back to the chief station, Manantoddy, to protect it against their attacks. Hostilities had in the meantime been brought to a conclusion by the occupation of the capital.

The spirit displayed by the inhabitants of Coorg in their resistance to a force which, from its numbers and discipline might have been expected at once to have overwhelmed an undisciplined and imperfectly armed handful of barbarians, and the success with which they repelled

¹ In this affair the loss was thirty-three killed, and forty-one wounded, besides camp-followers. Amongst the former was Ensign Johnstone, 51st N. I. Despatches of Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, Komli, 11th April. — Monthly A. J. xv., 88.

BOOK III. the attacks of so many of the divisions, were highly credit-
 CHAP. VII. able to their nationality, and might suggest a suspicion.
 1831. that the Raja was less unpopular with his people than had
 been represented. Had he manifested the like courage, or
 shewn any military ability in availing himself of the
 natural defences of his country, the contest might have
 been more serious. The barriers on the east and west
 might have been found as impassable as those on the north;
 and the mountains and the hills of Coorg might have been
 defended until the unhealthiness of the advancing season
 had compelled the troops to quit the field, and afforded
 the Raja a chance of obtaining more favourable terms.
 Vira Rajendra, however, was unequal to the crisis he had
 provoked; and the occupation of Madhukaira was imme-
 diately followed by the surrender of its prince. He gave
 himself up unconditionally on the evening of the 10th, to
 Colonel Lindesay, and was detained a prisoner in his palace.
 He was afterwards removed with his family to Bangalore,
 and finally to Benares. The management of the province
 was consigned to Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser, as political
 agent, by whom the heads of the villages were assembled
 at Madhukaira and consulted with respect to the future
 administration. A considerable number of them expressed
 a desire to be taken under the immediate authority of the
 British Government; and in compliance with their wishes,
 a proclamation was promulgated, announcing the resolu-
 tion of the Governor-General, that the territory heretofore
 governed by Vira Rajendra Wudiyar should be transferred
 to the Company. The inhabitants were assured that they
 should not again be subjected to native rule—that their
 civil rights and religious usages should be respected—and
 that the greatest desire should invariably be shewn to
 augment their security, comfort, and happiness. How far
 these objects have been effected may admit of question;
 but the province has remained at peace, and the Coorgs
 have shewn no disposition to re-assert their indepen-
 dence.

After the close of the Coorg campaign, the Governor-
 General proceeded from Bangalore to the Nilgiri hills
 for the re-establishment of his health; and while at Utt-
 kamund was joined by Sir Frederick Adams, the Governor
 of Madras, Colonel Morrison, appointed to the Supreme

Council, and Mr. Macaulay, who had been nominated fourth or legislative member of Council, under the arrangements adopted in England for the future Government of British India. To these we shall have occasion to recur: such of them as affected the organisation of the general administration, the establishment of one Supreme Government of India, vested in the person of the Governor-General; and the constitution of a new Presidency, that of Agra, were announced to the public in a proclamation dated the 10th July. The execution of the latter arrangement was suspended until the return of Lord William Bentinck to Bengal, which took place at the end of the year. The other proceedings of the Governor-General, at Uttakamund, were chiefly directed to the reduction of the expenses of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, which still continued to exceed their resources. Authoritative promulgation was also given to those provisions of the new Charter, which relieved Europeans from the disabilities under which their settlement had been hitherto impeded, and allowed them to acquire a proprietary right to landed property. A partial relaxation of the prohibitory regulations had been previously effected by Lord W. Bentinck; and they had been permitted to hold lands on a protracted lease. They were now freed from all material restraints; and the result has shown how little was ever to have been apprehended from the privilege: very few individuals have availed themselves of the permission; Europeans in India rarely possessing either the inclination to invest capital in landed property, or the capital by which alone such property is to be acquired.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VII.
1834.

CHAPTER VIII.

Relations with Native States, — Abandonment of Protective Policy, — System of Non-interference, — partial and mischievous Operation, — Interference authorised with Extra-Indian States, — Inconsistency — and Consequences. — King of Delhi sends an Agent to England. — The Governor-General declines an Interview. — Assassination of Mr. Fraser. — Punishment of the Murderers. — Affairs

of the *Deans*—*Privileges of the Peshwa and Property of the Minister*,—*removed in Office by the new King for a short time*,—*Promises and Demands against him*,—*all want to retire to Gwalior*,—*the Death—Conduct of the King*,—*Appointment of Haidar Mohli*,—*Salutary Reforms*,—*not considered sufficient*,—*King threatened with Depose*,—*President not to interfere*,—*Suggestions of the Minister*,—*Progress of Reforms*,—*Intriquer against Haidar Mohli*,—*his Dividend*,—*Confidential Instructions to assume the Government*,—*their Reformation suspended*,—*Death of the King*,—*His Successor repudiates the Demand of the British Officers*,—*Decline of the Country*,—*Assess of Police and Co*,—*Differences between the Directors and the Board of Control*,—*Writ of Mandamus*,—*Refused*,—*Disputes between the Peshwa and the young Nizam*,—*the latter retires in favour of his Brother*,—*The Peshwa unwilling to relinquish her Power*,—*Nizam appeals to the Government-General*,—*has recourse to Arms*,—*final Success*,—*States of Ghafur Khan and Amir Khan*,—*Visit of Amir Khan to the Camp of the Government-General, at Ameer*,—*New Policy towards the States on the Indus*,—*Origin in England*,—*Commercial Treaties*,—*Interference with Ranjit Sing*,—*Unsuccessful Attempt of Sikh Sajah to recover Kabul*,—*Relations with the Mahometan*,—*Nagpur prosperous under British Management*,—*transferred to the Raja*,—*Apas Sahib in Jodhpur*,—*Relaxation of Control over the Gwalior*,—*High Government of Sajah*,—*Quarrels with the Resident*,—*Districts re-possessed*,—*restored to him*,—*State of Indore*,—*Defects in the Character of Haidar*,—*his Death*,—*Adoption of Marhatta Rao*,—*Government ruled by Haidar Haidar*,—*acknowledged as Raja*,—*Disputes at Gwalior*,—*Insurrection of the Soldiers in favour of the Raja*,—*Bairi Bai obliged to retire from Gwalior*,—*Settled in the Dehkan*,—*Result of British Policy*,—*Relations with the Rajput States*,—*Kota*,—*Disputes between the Rao and the Raj Rana*,—*Final Partition*,—*Bundi Family-Dissensions*,—*Murder of the Minister*,—*Party from Jodhpur attacked*,—*Interference of the Political Agent*,—*Decline of Udaypur upon withdrawal of Interference*,—*Outrages of the Minas of Chappan checked*,—*Renewed Insurrection of the Gra-*

sias, — Exertions of the Superintendent, — Order re-established. — Death of the Rana Bhim Sing, — succeeded by his Son. — Jodhpur. — Disputes between Man Sing and his Chiefs. — Management of Mherwara. — Chiefs invite Dhokal Sing, — his Progress. — Raja alarmed. — British Government interferes, — cautious Character of Interference, — Mediation accepted. — Secret Hostility of Man Sing, he favours and shelters Marauders. — Force collected against Jodhpur. — Man Sing alarmed, — submits to all Demands. — Jaypur, — long and uneasy Intercourse. — Influence of Jota Ram and Rupá Bhandarin. — Dislike by the Regent Rani of the Manager Bhyri Sal, — his Removal. — Doubts of the Existence of the young Raja. — Return of Jota Ram. — Sentiments of the Chiefs in favour of the Regent-Mother. — Public Appearance of the Raja. — Unpopular Measures of Jota Ram. — Discontent of the Chiefs. — Inveterate Animosity of Jota Ram to Bhyri Sal, — Efforts against him, — frustrated by British Guarantee. — Death of the Dowager Rani. — Force sent into Shekhawat. — Forts destroyed. — Raja protests against the Expedition, — his sudden Illness and Death. — Universal suspicion. — Resignation of Jota Ram, — and Removal of Rupá. — Political Agent sent to Jaypur. — Bhyri Sal, Manager. — Attack on the Agent, and Murder of Mr. Blake, — traced to Jota Ram, — who is imprisoned for Life. — Murderers punished. — Council of Regency under general Control of the Resident. — Evils of Non-Interference in regard to secondary Rajput State, — necessarily resumed. — Sirodhi Frontier. — Adjustment of disputes between Bhikaner, Jesselmer, and Bahawalpur.

THE intercourse maintained with the Native States in alliance with the British Government of India during the period under review, presents an unfavourable picture of the results of the policy pursued by the latter—the decline of that salutary influence which it had at first exerted for the maintenance of public tranquillity, and a tendency to a revival of those disorders which had occasioned so much misery and desolation in Central Hindustan. For a short interval after the close of the Pindari campaign, the ascendancy acquired by the British power, and

BOOK III.

CHAP. VIII.

1828-35.

BOOK III. the subordination of several of the princes whom it had
 CHAP. VIII. seated on their thrones, and whom, in the immaturity of
 1828-35. their years or their sovereignty, it was bound to protect,
 neither excited any discontent among the native states
 nor disquieted the consciences of the authorities in Eng-
 land, usually haunted by the dread of extending the
 British territory beyond the limits which were set to it
 by the wisdom of Parliament. But with the consolidation
 of the supremacy, the apprehension of its visionary evils
 recurred; and in a short time instructions were reiterated
 to the local governments to withdraw from all interference
 with the native princes, beyond such as was indispensable
 for the realisation of the tributes they were bound by
 treaty to pay, or to prevent them from going to war with
 each other, and to leave them to the independent and
 uncontrolled exercise of their power in the administration
 of their own affairs. However mischievous the conse-
 quences, and although engendering within their respective
 dominions tumult, anarchy, and civil war, non-interference
 was to be the rule of the policy which was to be followed
 by the Governor-General. The interposition of the British
 Government was to be restricted to the vindication of its
 own pecuniary claims; and the character of an importu-
 nate and self-interested creditor was to be substituted for
 that of a benevolent and powerful protector. These in-
 structions were promptly attended to, particularly by
 Lord W. Bentinck, who entertained the like views of the
 expedience of abstaining from interference with native
 rule. It was found, however, to be extremely difficult to
 desist from intervention. The protection of the British
 dominions from the contagion of contiguous disorder, the
 rescue of friendly princes from the effects of their own
 misconduct, the impossibility of looking on unconcerned
 whilst a tributary or ally was hastening to destruction,
 and the necessary assertion of its own dignity and au-
 thority, compelled the reluctant Government of India to
 interpose frequently, both with council and with arms,
 and placed its conduct in constant contrast to its profes-
 sions. Inconsistency was therefore the main character-
istic of the proceedings of the Government of Bengal, in
its transactions with the native principalities beyond its
own borders; and while it subjected them to perplexity

and embarrassment, it impaired the consideration and weakened the reliance which they had hitherto entertained on its purposes and its power. Nor was this inconsistency restricted to the local Government. While urging the principle of non-interference as regarded the princes of India, the authorities in England, induced by considerations foreign to the interests of British India and originating in the jealousies of European cabinets, impelled the Indian Government into a course of interference which it had hitherto carefully avoided, and opened sources of danger and disaster which its own prudence would have shunned. The same policy that was disposed to consign Malwa and Rajputana to the renewed horrors of the predatory system, commanded the Governor-General to carry his negotiations across the Indus, and to establish new relations with Sind and Afghanistan. The inconsistency was severely punished; but the results belong to a subsequent period. We have now only to notice the political relations that were maintained between the Native States of Upper India and the British Government, to the close of Lord W. Bentinck's Administration.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1828-35.

Upon advertng in the first place to the Mohammedan powers, we find that no change had been made in the position of the King of Delhi, whose dissatisfaction was still kept alive by the non-compliance of the Government with his application for an augmented stipendiary grant. Finding the Government immovable, His Majesty had appealed to the authorities in England, and had deputed the celebrated Rammohun Roy¹ to advocate his cause.

¹ Rammohun Roy was a Brahman, of the most respectable or Kulin tribe of Bengal, and was born in 1780, in the Province of Burdwan. His father and grandfather had held office under the Nawabs of Bengal; and in contemplation of a similar destination, Rammohun Roy was early instructed in Persian and Arabic, and being of a contemplative and inquiring turn, was led by the study of the Koran to look with aversion on the polytheism and idolatry of his countrymen. To his Mohammedan studies, he added the acquirement of Sanscrit and English; and as he grew to manhood, he entered into the service of the Government as a writer in the office of the Collector of Rungpore, rising rapidly to the post of Dewan, or Head Native Assistant and Treasurer. In attracting the esteem of his superior, Mr. Digby, his familiar intercourse with that gentleman confirmed him in his distaste for the religion of his forefathers, and in his desire to awaken his countrymen to a sense of the degrading character of their superstitious belief. Retiring from public life at an early age, he settled in Calcutta in 1814, and employed himself in endeavouring to disseminate the doctrines of faith in one sole Supreme Being. The plan he adopted for this purpose, in addition to his personal teaching, was the publication of portions of the Vedas and of Vedanta tracts in Sanscrit, Bengali, and English, in which the unity of God was inculcated, and a spiritual form

BOOK III. As this mission had not been communicated to the
 CHAP. VIII. Governor-General, and had been consequently unsan-
 1828-35. tioned, the character of Rammohun Roy, as the Agent
 of the King, was not recognised in England; and his
 advocacy was unavailing. To mark the displeasure of the
 Government, Lord William Bentinck, on his arrival at
 Delhi, in his visit to the Upper Provinces, declined the
 usual interchange of complimentary visits, and passed on
 towards the mountains without holding an interview with
 the king. An addition to the pension was sanctioned by
 the Home authorities, on condition that the king should
 refrain from urging his pretensions to the revenue of the
 reserved districts; but as he hesitated to accede to the
 stipulation, the increased allowance was not granted.

At a subsequent date, the city of Delhi was the scene
 of an outrage of an unusual description, and of an act of
 retributive justice, unprecedented in the annals of British
 Indian judicature. Ahmed Bakhsh Khan, the Nawab of
 Ferozpur, of whom mention has been already made, was
 succeeded by his eldest son, Shams-ud-din Khan, as Na-
 wab. The district of Loharu had been set apart as the

of worship was enjoined; thus endeavouring to establish a Deistical religion by authorities recognised as sacred by the Hindus themselves. Some converts were made, chiefly among the opulent and educated classes of Calcutta; and an impulse was given which has contributed materially to their enlightenment. Falling in with Unitarian Christians, Rammohun Roy adopted in some degree their tenets, and in their defence engaged in an unprofitable controversy with the Missionaries of Serampore, which diverted him from the more useful task of Hindu reform. He did not, however, wholly abandon the cause; but was always among the foremost in advocating measures for the intellectual and moral advancement of his countrymen, as was shewn in the zeal with which he supported the abolition of the rite of Suttee. Entertaining a strong desire to visit Europe, he rather ill-advisedly undertook the office of agent of the king of Delhi, with whom he could have had no sympathy, and whom interested motives alone could have tempted him to serve; and in that capacity repaired to England, where he arrived in 1831. He was received with much consideration by the Court of Directors, and by persons of rank and public importance, and attracted general admiration by the courteousness of his manners, the extent of his information, and the acuteness of his understanding. His partial adoption of Unitarian doctrines led him into a close intimacy with persons of that persuasion, but he never became a member of their church; and his mind retained to the last the colouring with which it had been imbued by the Monotheism of the Koran. His views of society also connected him, at first, with the liberal party, and he manifested a warm interest in the question of Parliamentary reform; but he lived long enough in England to detect the hollowness of party professions, and to regret his having been cheated into a belief of their sincerity. Had he returned to Bengal, his country would have reaped the benefit of his larger experience and corrected impressions; but he was unfortunately attacked by a fever which proved fatal; and he died at Bristol, in September 1833.—'Personal knowledge.'

appanage of his two younger brothers; and they succeeded to its independent administration. The apportionment was disputed by the Nawab; and as the district appeared to be mismanaged, the Government resolved that it should be placed under the charge of Shams-ud-din; who was to allow his brothers a pension proportioned to the nett revenue of Loharu. This decision was objected to by Mr. Fraser, the Political Commissioner and Agent of the Governor-General at Delhi; and the transfer was delayed for further consideration. The family dissensions had instilled feelings of inveterate animosity in both parties, but more especially in the Nawab, who considered that the justice of his claim had been sanctioned by the supreme authority, and was, therefore, no longer liable to be disputed. Regarding Mr. Fraser as the sole obstacle to his being put in possession of the disputed lands, and listening only to his vindictive resentment, he employed an assassin to take away the life of the Commissioner. He had no difficulty in finding a willing instrument among his retainers; and by one of these, Mr. Fraser, when returning on horseback to his residence from a visit to the city, was shot. The murderer at first effected his escape, but was eventually seized and subjected to trial before one of the judges of the Sudder Nizamat of Allahabad, Mr. Colvin, who had been deputed to Delhi [to conduct the trial. The guilt of the assassin was fully proved, and he suffered the penalty of the law. The participation of the Nawab having been substantiated by the evidence against his emissary, Shams-ud-din was also brought to trial and convicted, and, notwithstanding his rank, hanged as a common malefactor. Although no doubt existed of the guilt of both of the culprits, the Mohammedan population of Delhi evinced a general sympathy for their fate, and regarded them with almost as profound a veneration as if they had fallen martyrs in the cause of their religion.¹

During the life of Ghazi-ud-din Hyder, the heir apparent to the throne of Oude had been at violent feud with his father's favourite minister Aga Mir, Moatemed-ud-dowla, and although the breach was apparently healed, and a

¹ A particular account of this transaction is given by Lieut.-Colonel Slecman in his "Rambles and Recollections," vol. ii. p. 209.

BOOK III. reconciliation was effected before the demise of the king,
 CHAP. VIII. the latter fearing that, after his death, the minister would

1828-35.

be the object of his successor's persecution, contrived to obtain the express guarantee of the British Government for the security of his person and property; advancing, on this condition, a crore of rupees, as a loan to the Company in perpetuity; the interest, five per cent., being paid to different dependants of his Majesty, including Moatemed-ud-dowla, to whom about a half of the income was appropriated. The new monarch, Nasir-ud-din Hyder, appeared at first disposed to forget the animosity of the prince, and, retaining Moatemed-ud-dowla in office, treated him with marked kindness and profuse liberality. As soon, however, as he was satisfied that the British Government would not interfere with his choice of a minister, and that he might safely follow his own inclinations,¹ he threw off the mask — dismissed Moatemed-ud-dowla from his office, and demanded from him the repayment of the sums of which it was alleged he had defrauded the treasury, and for which his property was responsible. The Minister appealed to the British Government; and although it was resolved that he should be made to account for the public money which had come into his hands subsequently to the accession of Nasir-ud-din, before permission was granted him to withdraw into the Company's territories; yet the immunity which had been guaranteed to him was to be maintained for all the measures of his administration under the late king, whose confidence had never been withheld from him and whose concurrence in his proceedings had stamped them with the regal sanction. As the object of the reigning sovereign was the entire ruin of the obnoxious minister, he warmly protested against this decision, and instituted a series of vexatious proceedings to gratify his vindictive purposes. The project was steadily resisted; and after a prolonged and troublesome discussion, and a most laborious investigation of all the pecuniary demands preferred against the ex-minister, he was suffered to retire into the territories of the Company; being still held responsible for any

¹ He is said to have ascertained this more particularly from a private interview with Lord Combermere on his visit to Lucknow in 1823, on which occasion the king was very urgent that Aga Mir should be privately arrested and shipped for England.

claims which might finally be substantiated. A military BOOK III. escort was necessary to protect his person and family CHAP. VIII. against the vengeance of the king; and under its protection, in October, 1830, he quitted Lucknow and the hope 1828-35. of restoration to power, for the humbler but safer enjoyments of private life at Cawnpore. He did not long survive his downfall, dying at that station in May, 1832, evidently pining for the cares and excitement of office.¹ That he had been guilty of peculation and oppression to an enormous extent was undoubted; and the British Government, fettered by the guarantee which it had injudiciously given him, rendered itself liable to the charge of being accessory to a system of both public and private spoliation. It was not, however, to punish extortion or to redress wrongs, that the king pursued his minister's offences; it was merely to satiate personal hatred, which was to be appeased only by the destruction and probably the death of Moatemed-ud-dowla. The dismissal of the minister was far from conducive to the improvement of the administration. The king declared it to be his intention to become his own minister; but, ignorant of affairs, and addicted to dissolute habits, the effect of this determination was to throw the power into the hands of disreputable and incompetent persons, the associates of his dissipation, or ministers of his vices; and as venal as inefficient. Their unfitness for the duties entrusted to them was so palpable and mischievous, that the Resident was instructed to decline any communication with the king through their instrumentality, and to refrain from all intercourse until a respectable and responsible minister should be nominated. After much hesitation, Nasir-ud-din recalled the minister whom his father had discarded in favour of Aga Mir, and invited Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan

¹ An interesting account of his last days is given by Dr. Spry, who was for some time his medical attendant. — *Modern India*, i. 246. Aga Mir succeeded to the office of minister early in the reign of Ghazi-ud-din, and although of humble origin was not unworthy of his elevation. He was a man of quick apprehension and acute intellect, and exhibited great address. While never losing sight of his own interests, he maintained for many years the ascendancy over his master, and his influence in the court of Lucknow. He uniformly opposed the projects of reform proposed by the British Government; yet managed to continue on good terms with its representatives, and in general to make them subservient to his purposes. In the communications with the British Government, which bore either his own signature or the king's, and which in either case were probably of his dictation, he appears to great advantage, and generally has the best of the argument.

BOOK III. to quit his asylum at Furrakhabad, and resume the con-
 CHAP. VIII. duct of public affairs. The Resident, Mr. Maddock, opposed
 ——— his elevation, under an impression that Hakim Mehdi
 1828-35. was decidedly inimical to the British alliance; but the
 Government, anticipating important benefits from his
 acknowledged abilities, concurred in his nomination.¹ His
 restoration to power was followed by measures of a bene-
 ficial tendency. The finances were improved, the expenses
 diminished, the corrupt practices, which had diverted a
 large portion of the public receipts into the hands of
 individual courtiers, or the inmates of the Harem, were
 checked; and the system of farming the revenue was
 exchanged, as opportunity offered, for direct collection by
 officers appointed by the minister—an arrangement which
 had been vainly urged upon the two last princes of Oude.
 These reforms were not, however, capable of immediate
 influence, nor could they be carried into effect without
 considerable opposition. The state of the kingdom was
 therefore slowly ameliorated; and, according to the report
 of the Resident, it had reached so incurable a stage of
 decline, that nothing but the assumption of the adminis-
 tration for a season could preserve it from utter ruin.²
 Although differing from Mr. Maddock in his estimate of
 the character and intentions of the minister, the Gover-
 nor-General concurred in his views of the necessity of
 interference; and, in April, 1831, when at Lucknow, on
 his visit to the Upper Provinces, the king was distinctly
 apprised by Lord W. Bentinck, in a speech composed for
 the occasion and afterwards communicated in writing,
 that, unless his territories were governed upon other
 principles than those hitherto followed, and the prosperity
 of the people made the principal object of his administra-
 tion, the precedents afforded by the principalities of the
 Dekhin, the Carnatic and Tanjore, would be applied to
 the kingdom of Oude; the entire management of the
 country would be vested in British functionaries; and
 the sovereign would be transmuted into a pensioner of
 the State. These menaces stimulated the minister to

¹ Minute of Lord W. Bentinck on the Affairs of Oude.— Report, Committee House of Commons, Political Appendix.

² Memorandum on Oude Affairs, by Mr. Maddock. Report, Comm. House of Commons, Political Appendix, VI., No 28.

more energetic efforts, and intimidated the king into a temporary acquiescence; but, after a while, the impression on the mind of the latter became less vivid, and the measures of Hakim Mehdi were obstructed by the same sinister influence by which they were formerly impeded. In this difficulty, he applied to the Resident for counsel and support, and the application was ostensibly repeated by the king. With admirable inconsistency, the Resident was restricted from compliance. The principle of non-interference was pleaded as the ground of the refusal; and the Cabinet of Lucknow, while made responsible to a foreign functionary for the consequences of its domestic policy, was forbidden to expect any assistance from him in averting their occurrence. It was in vain that Hakim Mehdi appealed to the engagement entered into with Lord Wellesley, binding the British Government to afford its counsel and advice; and argued that from the recent language of the Governor-General, it was to be concluded that the obligation was still in force. It was in vain, also, that he maintained that by holding back when the Native Government was anxious to advance, the British Government took upon itself the responsibility of continued maladministration, "for he," observed Hakim Mehdi, "who sees a blind man on the edge of a precipice, and will not put forth a hand to hold him back, is not innocent of his destruction." The Governor-General was not a man to be easily moved from a position he had once taken up; and the principle of non-interference for any friendly purpose, was rigorously prohibited. At the same time reports most unfavourable to the condition of Oude, were transmitted to the authorities at home; and they were recommended to adopt, eventually, one of three courses:— to withdraw the subsidiary force and the Resident, and leave the country to the uncontrolled dominion of the Sovereign; to impose upon the latter a minister, selected by the British Government, and appoint British Officers to superintend the conduct of the native functionaries, as had been done at Hyderabad; or to take the entire government of the country, as at Nagpore. In the mean time, however, it was proposed to give the actual minister a fair trial; as there was no doubt of his abilities,

BOOK III. whatever might be entertained of his integrity or public spirit.¹

1828-35. Although recourse to such a violent mode of cure might have been justified by the supposed extremity of the case; yet, as we have already had occasion to observe, it may be questioned, if the case was as hopeless as had been represented. The misrule of native princes was no novelty in the history of India: but the deplorable accounts of its effects in Oude, seem to have been repeated without sufficient investigation. That the Sovereign was dissipated and prodigal—that his favourites, whether in the interior of his palace, or in his court, were extravagant and corrupt—that the police was lax and inefficient—that the system of farming the revenues, and intrusting the farmers with discretionary power, was pregnant with gross abuses, and productive of exaction and oppression—that the landholders were driven by it to occasional resistance, which the unaided force of the Government was unable to overcome—and that in many parts, particularly on the borders, bands of marauders plundered the peaceable inhabitants both of Oude and the territories of the Company with impunity—all these things might be perfectly true: but it did not, therefore, follow that the people at large were intolerably burthened, or that the country was in a state of irremediable anarchy or incurable decline. We have evidence to the contrary; and the frequent assertions of ocular witnesses are on record, that Oude was in as prosperous a condition as the Company's own provinces;² and that, whatever grievances the people

¹ Minute of Lord W. Bentinck. — Political Records, etc.

² Bishop Heber, in 1824, vol. i. 374, 403, repeatedly expresses his surprise at finding the country so much better cultivated than he had expected to find it, after the accounts of its mis-government with which he had been familiar. Ten years later, in 1833, Mr. Shore remarks, "I have travelled over several parts of Oude, and can testify, as far as my own observation went, that it is fully cultivated according to the population. Between Cawnpore and Lucknow, numbers must daily pass, who can confirm or deny this statement. Let them declare if any portion of land there lies waste which is fit for cultivation. I have known many officers who have been stationed at Sitapoor, and have made excursions into the neighbouring parts; without an exception, they describe the country as a garden. In the number of cattle, horses, and goods which they possess, and in the appearance of their houses and clothes, the people are in no points worse (in many, better) off than our own subjects. The wealth of Lucknow, not merely of those in authority, but the property of the bankers and shopkeepers is far superior to that of any city (Calcutta, perhaps, excepted) in the British dominions. How can all this be the case, if the Government is notorious for tyranny and oppression?"—Notes on Indian Affairs, by the Hon. F. I. Shore, i. 156.—There is much more to the

might endure, they considered them light in comparison with the unrelenting pressure of the revenue system of their neighbours, or the wearisome and vexatious processes of their Courts of Justice. Certain it is, that the subjects of the King of Oude never shewed any disposition to seek a refuge from their miseries in the contiguous districts under British rule, and that the tide of emigration, so far as it influenced the undulation of the population was more inclined to set in an opposite direction. At any rate, whatever might be the condition of the people, and however susceptible it might be of alleviation, there was no reason to believe that its improvement was alone to be secured by their transfer to foreign domination. The Governor-General had the power by treaty, and the right, to dictate to the Government of Oude the course to be followed. The right was not only recognised, but its exercise was requested ; and yet, with a strange and incongruous perversity, the interference was withheld, as if it had been the policy of the British Government to create, by non-interference for preservation, a crisis which should warrant its interfering for the total subversion of the sovereignty.

The consequences of refusing to support the salutary reforms of Hakim Mehdi were soon apparent. The numerous and influential enemies which they had engendered, recovered their uncontrolled ascendancy over the feeble mind of the King, and induced him to withdraw his confidence from his minister. The latter, disdaining to conciliate the good will of the Begums and the Courtiers, provoked their enmity by the disrespectful terms in which he spoke of them, as much as by the economy in their expenditure, which he attempted to enforce ; and they

same effect, which is deserving of attention. On the other hand, Mr. Maddock reports the country to be fast falling into a state of ruin and bankruptcy, and describes in detail the extortion, corruption, and insubordination which the farming system involves. These are, however, of a general nature, and except in the diminution of the revenue to two-thirds of its preceding amount, we have no positive indication of results. He is obliged to admit that "some parts of Oude are in a high and beautiful state of cultivation, while others are deserted and overgrown with jungle." Even his general denunciations are apparently not founded on personal knowledge, and are qualified as if based upon report. No doubt there was grievous misgovernment ; but it loses none of its intensity in the pictures of official reprehension.—Memorandum on Oude Affairs —and Abstract View as gathered from Persian Papers by Mr. Maddock.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1828-35.

BOOK III. desisted not from their opposition until they had per-
 CHAP. VIII. vailed upon the King to dismiss him. The Resident,

1828-35. Major Low, ondeavoured to dissuade the King from his purpose, and accomplished a temporary restoration of Hakim Mehdi to favour. The reconciliation was not of long continuance; the intrigues of his adversaries ultimately prevailed; and the minister was not only dismissed from office, but was detained at Lucknow to answer numerous charges of fraud and peculation, which the instruments of his opponents were suborned to bring against him. As these were proved to be false and unfounded, the King was persuaded by the British Resident to desist from his detention; and Hakim Mehdi was allowed to return to the security and quiet of his former residence, at Furrakhabad.¹ All hope of permanent improvement departed with him. He was succeeded in office by Roshan-ud-dowla, a person of respectability, but of little talent, and unused to business; and the real authority devolved on the personal favourites and associates of the king, who were recommended to him chiefly by their subservience to his passions, and participation in his excesses. The impulse, however, which had been given by the menaces of the British Government and the corresponding reforms of Hakim Mehdi was not wholly extinct; and although the character of Nasir-ud-din became every day more and more an object of contempt, yet the general aspect of the affairs of Oude was such as to authorise the Governor-General's refraining from acting upon instructions, received in the beginning of 1835, to assume the government of the country, if circumstances should render such a measure necessary. The Court of Oude was apprised that such instructions had arrived; but that their execution was suspended, in the hope that the necessity of enforcing them might be obviated by the spontaneous adoption of the requisite reforms. The hope has not been realised, nor has the penalty been inflicted. The kingdom of Oude remains under the direction of a

¹ The retirement of Hakim Mehdi was followed by a circumstance characteristic of the progressive extension of European usages and notions, even among natives grown old in a very dissimilar state of society. He published in a local newspaper, the Mofussil Akhbar, an appeal to the public in defence of his administration and a vindication of his integrity. The document is curious, and is given in the Appendix V.

government, of which it may be justly asserted that it is not worse than native rule in general ; and that, while it is discredited by many great and inherent defects, it has also its compensations, in its exemption from many of the evils which are equally inseparable from the sovereignty of strangers.

The death of the Nizam, Sikander Jah, and the accession of his eldest son, under the title of Nazim-ud-Dowla, produced a material change in the relations which had been latterly established with Hyderabad. One of the first measures of the new sovereign was to require the removal of the British officers who had been appointed to superintend the assessments, as he declared it to be his determination to manage his own affairs ; and, as the interference to which he objected had occasioned both embarrassment and a deficiency of revenue. Consistently with the principles now in favour with the Government of Bengal, this determination was approved of, and the Nizam was informed that it was the wish of the Governor-General that he should consider himself entirely uncontrolled in the choice of his ministers and the conduct of his internal administration ; stipulating only that the engagements which had been contracted under the sanction of British officers should not be violated. To this a ready assent was promised ; but the promise was little regarded. Chandu Lal, from his experience and ability, was too necessary to be discarded ; and the system of exaction and prodigality which he had countenanced underwent no material modification. The expenditure was undiminished, and the embarrassment of the finances unrelieved. The engagements with the villagers were set aside, and recourse was again had to the farming of the revenues, with its usual consequences of injustice and extortion — the multiplication of robbers and plunderers, and the resistance of the most turbulent of the Zemindars to the equitable demands of the state, requiring for their suppression the employment of a military force. In the course of a very few years, the country had relapsed into the condition from which it had been endeavoured to raise it in the preceding reign ; and the Home authorities intimated a disposition to extend to Hyderabad the appropriative policy with which Oude had been menaced.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1828-35.

BOOK III. It was not thought advisable, however, to resort to such
 CHAP. VIII. an extrêmité, or to extend the scale of interference.

1828-35. The pecuniary dealings of the house of Palmer and Company with the Government of the Nizam, which had excited so much interest during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, continued for several years to occupy the attention of the authorities both in England and in India; and in the former, led eventually to an unusual collision, and an appeal to the Courts of Justice. The opinion given by the Twelve Judges that the limitation of the rate of interest prescribed by Act of Parliament, did not apply to loans made to the subjects of Native independent princes by British subjects domiciliated and residing within their dominions, materially altered the position of the house, and authorized their claiming the full amount of both principal and interest due to them by native debtors.¹ Their accounts with the Nizam had been closed by the acquittal of the demands against him by the money advanced to the minister, in redemption of the tribute of the Northern Circars, payable to the Nizam; but there remained claims of large amount upon persons of rank and influence in the Court of Hyderabad, which the trustees of the late firm were now at liberty to prosecute before the native tribunals. The Resident was, however, still wholly prohibited from exercising in any way his official influence, either for or against the prosecution of any claim which they might advance on individual subjects of the Nizam, and from being in any manner the channel of communication between them and such individuals.² A few years afterwards, a more lenient view of the case was taken up by the Court. Doubts were expressed, whether the relation in which the trustees stood towards the debtors of the firm had not been deteriorated by the use which had been made of the opinions originally expressed, and by the interdiction of the Resident from giving any facility to the recovery of claims at a higher rate of interest than twelve per cent. per annum either retrospectively or prospec-

¹ The opinion was communicated by the Court to the Bengal Government in a letter, dated 3rd August, 1825; and by the Government to the Resident at Hyderabad, 27th July, 1826.

² Political Despatch, 12th March, 1823.

tively, a prohibition made known to the Government of BOOK III.
the Nizam, and consequently to the members of his CHAP. VIII.
family and court, who were debtors to the house, and who
were likely to avail themselves of so palpable a plea for
refusing to fulfil their *bonâ fide* obligations.¹ In order to
counteract such possible impressions, the members of the
house were relieved from a preceding prohibition against a
direct intercourse with the ministers of the Nizam, and
were allowed to have access to them with the knowledge
and sanction of the Resident. Sir William Rumbold was
also permitted to return to Hyderabad, to assist the
trustees in winding up the affairs of the house, in which
he had been a partner. These arrangements were consi-
dered successful, according to the official report of the
Resident, whatever unfavourable impressions might have
at first been produced; as was evidenced by the result
which had attended the proceedings of the trustees, and
the award to them of considerable sums of money through
the instrumentality of the Courts of Justice in Hyder-
abad, including interest at the rate of twenty-four per
cent. per annum.

Notwithstanding the decisions of the Native Courts in
their favour, the Trustees found that the sentences were
but partially enforced, the Courts of Justice being power-
less against individuals connected with the minister or the
Nizam. This was particularly the case in regard to Munir-
al-Mulk, the kinsman and nominal minister of the Nizam;
against whom very large claims, arising chiefly out of the
high rate of compound interest, had accumulated, and
whose liquidation of them in full could not be expected,
except through the influential interposition of the British
Resident with the Nizam. This interference, however, the
Government declined to sanction; and the only alternative
adopted, was a reference to the Court of Directors, for
their instructions as to whether any and what measures
were to be adopted for the purpose of effecting a settle-
ment of the claims in question.² In the meantime, the

¹ In a letter from Munir-al-Mulk, one of the principal debtors to the House, to Chanda Lal, he writes — "If the order prohibiting any money transactions with them and the proclamation describing the claims as void had not arrived, my debt to them would have been completely and fully paid; but how could I, in defiance of the prohibition and of such a proclamation, pay them?" Papers on the Writ of Mandamus, p. 42.

² Political Letter from Bengal, 6th July, 1831.

BOOK III. matter had been the subject of a difference of opinion
 CHAP. VIII. between the Court and the Board of Control. A draft of
 ——— a letter had been prepared by the former, under date, 23rd
 1828-35. July, 1830, disapproving of some of the measures of the
 Bengal Government in favour of Sir Wm. Rumbold. It
 was essentially altered by the Board; and a despatch was
 substituted, authorising the Resident's support of the
 claims of the firm. To this the Court, in their turn, de-
 cidedly objected. The receipt of the reference noticed
 above, as well as of other despatches connected with the
 same subject, furnishing an opportunity of re-considering
 the question, the Board withdrew their emendations, and
 directed the Court to prepare a new draft in lieu of that
 formerly submitted, which should reply to the several un-
 answered communications from Bengal.

In compliance with this injunction, a letter was pre-
 pared on the 20th March, 1832, in which the Government
 of Bengal was authorised to express to the Nizam, through
 the Resident at Hyderabad, its wish that the claims upon
 Munir-al-Mulk should be settled by arbitration, upon prin-
 ciples, regarding the limitation of interest, formerly deter-
 mined, and upon a previously obtained assurance from the
 Nizam that he would enforce an equitable award. The
 constitution of the arbitration was to be left to the discre-
 tion of the local government. This draft underwent the
 fate of its predecessor; and in its place a despatch was
 written, in which it was stated, that the joint interposition
 of the Government of Bengal and the Nizam would be
 requisite to bring the matter in dispute to a final settle-
 ment, which should be effected either by arbitration (the
 umpire being nominated by the Governor-General), or by
 a commission to be equally appointed by the Supreme Go-
 vernment. The choice between the two arrangements was
 to be given to the Nizam; but his prior engagement to
 carry the decision of either into effect was to be required,
 and the Resident was to be instructed to press upon his
 Highness, in terms of urgent recommendation, the justice
 and expediency of his resolving to enforce the final award.
 Some verbal alterations of the letter were subsequently
 made; and it was added, that the interference was not to
 be carried beyond sincere and urgent recommendation, which
 it would be perfectly competent to the Nizam to adopt or

reject; and that the motive of the interference was the conviction that the home authorities had, however unintentionally, arrested the earlier settlement of the claim of the house by the promulgation of an erroneous opinion. This circumstance imposed an obligation to endeavour to repair to the parties, as far as possible, the injury inflicted on them; and, in this attempt it was not too much to ask of the Nizam to grant that which with strict propriety he was able to give, and without which every effort would be unavailing—the advantage of his co-operation. The proposed despatch was decidedly objected to by the Court. They maintained that they were not responsible for the erroneousness of an opinion which had emanated from the high legal authorities consulted; and if any detriment had at first accrued to the claims of the firm, this had been fully remedied by the publicity given to the different sentiments of the judges, under which extensive claims had been actually realised. If the decrees of the native Courts could not always be enforced, this was a state of things well known to the parties concerned, and was in fact the only justification of the exorbitant rates of interest prevailing, which were of course intended to cover more than ordinary risk. To employ the authoritative interference of the British Government in the realisation of the claims of its own subjects upon the subjects of an independent prince and ally, was contrary to the principles of the Indian Government, and the practice of all civilised states; and the use of strong urgent recommendations, however qualified, was, with respect to the relations established with the Nizam, equivalent to imperative dictation. Such protection, granted to British subjects in their pecuniary dealings with natives of rank, could only lead to the most mischievous results, such as had been fully experienced in regard to the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Raja of Tanjore; and, on these and other grounds, the Court suggested to the Board the annulment of their alterations. As these objections were disregarded, they endeavoured to evade the Board's corrections by denying its right to interfere; the despatch relating neither to the military nor civil government, nor to the revenues of India, to which the controlling powers of the Board were alone applicable. Considering it also to be inexpedient to interfere in any

BOOK III.

CHAP. VIII.

1828-35.

BOOK III. way with the matter under consideration, they determined
 CHAP. VIII. to rescind the resolution under which the original despatch
 1828-35. was prepared, and to withdraw it altogether. Strong protests were recorded against a resolution which was so utterly inconsistent with the whole course of past proceedings, and which attempted to avoid the honest expression of opinions conscientiously and rationally entertained; but the resolution was carried. It was, however, of little avail. The Board had recourse to the power vested in them by law, and applied to the Court of King's Bench for the issue of a writ of mandamus, compelling the Directors of the East India Company to transmit the despatch to India. The question was argued before the Court at considerable length, and the writ was granted.¹ The Court was, consequently, under the necessity of signing and forwarding the contested letter, as finally amended by the Board.²

The objections taken by the Directors to the interference sanctioned by the Board of Control, were founded on just views of the evils which had been suffered by the natives of India from pecuniary dealings with Europeans, supported by the irresistible influence of the local governments, and were, consistently with the sentiments which they had all along expressed, unfavourable to the particular transactions at Hyderabad. But in their anxiety to mark their disapprobation of the proceedings, and to discard the imputation of sanctioning an undue influence over the pecuniary interests of the Nizam, they had undoubtedly in their dissemination of the doctrine of the illegal rate of interest beyond twelve per cent. per annum, prejudiced the claims of the house upon their private debtors, and rendered it difficult for them to recover sums of money, their right to which, whatever their character or origin, would not have been disputed, or in native estimation regarded as founded on extortion, unless the notion of injustice and

¹ 29th January, 1833. Papers, pp. 55, 58, 107, 111.

² A strong protest against the despatch was signed by ten of the members of the Court, arguing that the proposed interference was contrary to the faith of treaties — the practice of the Court — of former Governments of Bengal, the substantial justice of the case, and the right use which should be made of the past experience of the House. The protest leant more to the whole question than the particular despatch; the interference recommended by which grew out of that previously exercised: the mistake was in the sanction originally given to the pecuniary dealings of the House with the minister of the Nizam. Protest and Appendix, Mandamus Papers, p. 123.

illegality had been suggested to them by the declaration of the British Government. This opinion unquestionably contributed to delay the settlement of some of the most important claims of the house; and the delay must have been prejudicial to their interests. Some compensation for this injury, it was therefore not unreasonable to bestow; and the influence of the Resident judiciously exercised, to prevail upon the Nizam to enforce the judicial decrees of his own Courts, was not open to any very serious objection. The interposition was not exercised to any very great advantage. Munir-al-Mulk had consented to a compromise of his debts, when the arrangement was interrupted by his death. The appointment of arbitrators to effect an adjustment with his son and successor was sanctioned by the Nizam; but the claims of the house were still unsettled at the termination of the period under review.¹

Of the other and minor Mohammedan principalities, Bhopal, became the scene of domestic dissensions which led to a change of the arrangements that had been established for its government after the reduction of the Marhatta power, by which the widow of Nazir Mohammed had been placed at the head of affairs, until the majority of the young Nawab, Munir Mohammed, the son of Amir Mohammed, the affianced husband of the daughter of the last prince. As he grew up to manhood, Munir Mohammed claimed a substantive share in the administration; but the Begum refused to relinquish any portion of her authority, and, asserting that the Nawab was equally incompetent as a ruler and a husband, cancelled the intended nuptials, and after a sharp struggle, compelled him to relinquish his pretensions in favour of his younger brother, Jehangir Mohammed. The Government of Bengal refrained from taking any part in the contest. The chiefs generally sided with the Begum, as Munir Mohammed was a young man of dissolute habits and disreputable character, while the Begum was a woman of spirit and ability, and competent to exercise the power which she was determined to retain as long as she was able. With this feeling, she delayed the solemnisation of the marriage of her

¹ The Proceedings of the Court and of the Board, with regard to the Writ of Mandamus in the case of *Palmer and Others*; printed under a resolution of the Court of Directors. — 22nd March, 1823.

BOOK III. daughter with Jehangir Mohammed, and withheld from
 CHAP. VIII. him, as she had done from his brother, all political power,

1828-35.

after he had attained an age which entitled him to a voice in the conduct of public affairs. The young Nawab appealed to the British Government for its interference, and having been deputed to meet the Governor-General on the latter's visit to Saugar, in January, 1833, represented to Lord W. Bentinck, in a private interview, the expectations of himself and his friends to be placed in the immediate possession of the rights attached to the station to which he had been raised with the concurrence and sanction of the British Government. Considering, however, that Sekander Begum enjoyed the popular support, the Governor-General declined interposition, beyond insisting that the marriage should take place at the period at which the Begum had engaged that it should be solemnised, in compliance with the urgent recommendations of the British Agent and the representations of her own adherents. It was accordingly celebrated in the beginning of 1835; and, for a time, the domestic squabbles of this little court were appeased. Sekander Begum, however, was as little disposed as ever to lay aside her power; and finding the usual restraints of Asiatic manners embarrass her public proceedings, discarded them for manly habits, and held public levees, and walked and rode about without any attempt at concealment. This conduct impaired in some measure her popularity; and her persevering exclusion of the young Nawab from any share in the administration again gave rise to disputes, which ended at last in a mutual appeal to arms; the British authorities being precluded by the policy of their government from maintaining the public tranquillity undisturbed. The Nawab fled from Bhopal — levied troops, and obtained possession of several strong towns, including the fort of Ashta, which became his head quarters. The Begum sent her forces against him, and an action was fought, in which the leaders on both sides were slain, and the troops of the Nawab were defeated. The victors laid siege to Ashta; but the British Government was now satisfied of the mischievous consequences of its indifference, and offered its mediation, which was readily accepted. Negotiations were concluded under the auspices of the Political Agent; and tranquillity was restored. The

intentions of the original engagements were accomplished. BOOK III.
The Begum was compelled to resign her sway, and accept CHAP. VIII.
the grant of an inferior but independent Jagir, and the
Nawab was placed on the Musnud of Bhopal. 1828-35.

The two other Mohammedan States of Central India, which owed their origin to the decision of the British Government in favour of Ghaffur Khan and Amir Khan, require no particular notice. Upon the death of Ghaffur Khan, in 1827, disputes arose for the regency during the minority of his successor, between the Begum his mother, and the minister of her late husband; but they were prevented from coming to extremities by the timely intervention of the Resident at Indore. The territories of Amir Khan remained in a peaceable and prosperous condition until his death in 1838, when he was succeeded by his son Mohammed Khan. In 1832 Amir Khan, in common with the other chiefs of Central India, visited the camp of the Governor-General at Ajmere, and effaced all recollection of his political delinquencies and predatory practices, by his frank and soldier-like deportment¹, and the fulness and freshness of the anecdotes he narrated of the adventures of his early life.

With the administration of Lord W. Bentinck, commences a new era in the politics of British India with regard to the Mohammedan states upon the Indus, or beyond its banks, with Bahawalpur, Sindh, and Afghanistan. The character of the relations which were established was professedly commercial; and the main objects were declared to be the unobstructed navigation of the Indus, and the opening of a new and desirable channel for the access of British merchandise to the heart of Central Asia, through the Punjab and Kabul. Events, however, occurring at the moment, and still more those of subsequent years, have shown that the commercial advantages were of secondary consideration, and that others of a political complexion were the main springs of this departure from the prudence which, since the time of the Earl of Minto had actuated the Governments of India, who in

¹ It was on this occasion that he presented to Mr. H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to Government in the Foreign Department, the memoir of his life, written from his dictation by his Munshi (as the soldier was no scholar); of which, Mr. Prinsep has published a translation. It is a most valuable contribution to the materials of Anglo-Indian history.

BOOK III, their relations with the bordering principalities, had been
 CHAP. VIII. contented to express the general subsistence of friendly
 1824-33. feelings, while steadily declining any more intimate inter-
 course. Motives which had formerly dictated a different
 policy, were now again in operation, and, as in 1809 apprehension of the designs of France had instigated the British Ministry to direct the attention of the Governor-General to the formation of alliances beyond the Indus, so, in 1829, a panic fear of the projects of Russia, induced the Cabinet of St. James's to instruct the authorities in India to establish a commanding influence upon that river, in order to counteract the consequences which might be anticipated from the complete prostration of Persia and its subservience to the designs of Russia against the empire of Britain in the East. From these instructions originated a policy hitherto repudiated by the wisdom of the Indian Governments, as foreign to the interests of India, and only calculated to involve them in embarrassment and discredit. Events belonging to a subsequent period demonstrated the justice of these views; and a ruinous expenditure and ineffable disgrace were the penalty of uncalled-for interference with the affairs of Afghanistan.

Consistently with the avowed objects of the British Government, negotiations were conducted with the different princes ruling on either bank of the Indus for the free transit of vessels laden with European goods; and, after some hesitation, in which the Amirs of Sindh manifested extreme repugnance to open their territories to European adventure, and an instinctive dread of the result of a more intimate connection with the Indian Government, which was justified by events, treaties were concluded with the Government of Hyderabad in Sindh, by which it was stipulated that perpetual friendship should subsist between the contracting parties; and that they should never "look with a covetous eye on the possessions of each other;" that a free passage along the Indus should be granted to the merchants and traders of India; that fixed, proper, and moderate duties only should be imposed, and no vexatious delays at the Custom stations be permitted. By a supplementary treaty it was provided, that no duties should be levied on the goods; but a toll be

imposed on the boats carrying them, at a fixed sum per boat, whatever might be its tonnage. Similar engagements were concluded with the Nawab of Bahawalpur, and with Ranjit Sing, for that portion of the river which flowed through their territories, and for the rivers of the Punjab.¹ With Ranjit Sing, it appeared to the British Ministry, to be highly desirable to form a still closer and more intimate connection; and with the purpose of conciliating his good-will, a letter was addressed to him by the President of the Board of Control, Lord Ellenborough, in the name and by command of his Majesty William IV., forwarding for his acceptance several English horses of unusual size and stature, for which it was known that the Raja entertained a childish predilection. The letter and the horses were conveyed to Lahore by Lieutenant A. Burnes, and presented to Ranjit Sing in July, 1831;² and in the following October an interview took place, at Rupar, on the Setlej, between the Maharaja and the Governor-General, intended to confirm the friendly disposition of the wily ruler of the Punjab. No object of a deeper import was avowed; and a week was spent in the interchange of personal civilities and displays of the military equipments and discipline of the Sikh and British troops, who constituted the respective escorts of the Governor-General and the Maharaja.³ That subjects of more importance were discussed, was manifested by the result; and the foundation was then laid of the alliance which was afterwards formed against the ruler of the Afghans. A more immediate though unacknowledged consequence, was the assistance afforded by the Sikh ruler to the king of Kabul, Shah Shuja, who had been exiled for more than twenty years; and had been indebted for his support, during the greater portion of that interval, to

¹ See Treaties with the Government of Hyderabad in Sept. April 1801 and December, 1804. With Mahara's Singh's Sep. December, 1802 and January 1835: and with the Nawab of Bahawalpur, February 1830 and February 1835. — *Tracts printed for the House of Commons, 1835.*

² *Narrative of a Voyage on the Indus, by Lieutenant Allen Burnes, finding the third volume of his Travels into Beluchistan.*

³ The Governor-General, on this occasion was attended in addition to his usual body-guard, by two squadrons of His Majesty's 10th Light Dragoon and 14th and 15th Regiments of Foot. The Maharaja's army consisted of his own Horse and Foot, and the 10th and 14th Regiments of Foot. — *Tracts printed for the House of Commons, 1835.*

BOOK III. the generosity of the British Government—residing with
 CHAP. VIII. his family at the station of Ludiana. That a negotiation
 ——— had been opened between the Shah and the Maharaja,
 1828-35. before the meeting of Rupar took place; and that conditions had been proposed, and generally acceded to, was known to the Governor-General; and Ranjit Sing would scarcely have entered into the project unless he had felt secure of the acquiescence of the British Government.¹ Subsequently, indeed, compliance with the application of Shah Shuja for assistance was declined upon the principal of religiously abstaining from intermeddling with the affairs of the neighbouring states. Matters were not yet mature for a rupture with Dost Mohammed, although his intercourse with Persia and the designs of Abbas Mirza the Prince of Persia, upon Herat, instigated and supported, it was suspected, by the Russians for their own purposes, were jealously watched agreeably to the instructions from England; and the recovery by Shah Shuja of the throne of Kabul was contemplated as an additional security against the nearer approach of the Russian arms to the frontier of India.

Shah Shuja made his first move from Ludiana, in January, 1833, with a few hundred followers; but by the time he arrived at Shikarpore, he had collected thirty thousand. The Amirs of Sindh, who had engaged to promote his cause, at first received him amicably and supplied him with pecuniary assistance; but finding that he was in no haste to leave their country, and that he demanded still more considerable succours, they determined to compel his departure, and marched with a body of troops against him. An action was fought near Rori, in January, 1834, between the Shah's force and that of the Amirs, in which the latter sustained a very severe defeat, losing many chiefs of note. The result of the encounter was the submission of the Amirs; and, upon their consenting to pay an additional subsidy, and provide him with an auxiliary force, the Shah moved on to Kandahar. No opposition was offered to his advance; and some ineffective attempts at resistance in the neighbourhood of Kandahar, were defeated without much difficulty. The Sirdars of

¹ The Treaty was not formally ratified until March, 1833, when the Shah was in Sindh, on his march towards Afghanistan.

the Barakzye family, Kohan Dil Khan, Mihr Dil Kan, and Rehim Khan who jointly governed the district, were confined to the city, which the Shah was about to besiege, when the arrival of Dost Mohammed from Kabul, with a strong body of troops changed the aspect of affairs. The king retired to Abbasabad, and was there attacked on the 29th June, by the Kabul army. The brunt of the action was borne by two battalions of Hindustani troops, who had been disciplined by a European of the name of Campbell, and who behaved with an intrepidity which at one time afforded promise of success. The misconduct of Shah Shuja's Afghan followers, and the treachery of some of his chiefs, frustrated their efforts; and the consequence was, his total defeat, the dispersion of his army, and the flight of the Shah with a slender escort to the fort of Lash, where he was sheltered by an Afghan chief. Having collected a small force, he then proceeded to Furrâh, where he expected to be joined by reinforcements from Herat; but being disappointed of their arrival, and threatened by a party of horse under Rehim Khan, he fled across the desert of Sistan to Kelat, after enduring severe privations and losing many of his followers. Mehrab Khan, the Baluch chieftain of Kelat, gave him refuge, and refused to surrender him to Rehim-Dil-Khan; but an agreement was concluded between them that the former should withdraw his protection, and the latter desist from pursuit. Shah Shuja, thus forced to quit Kelat, repaired to Sindh, where he was received, notwithstanding their late disagreement, by the Amirs with respect and hospitality. After remaining a short time at Hyderabad, the Shah returned by way of Jesselmere to his former retreat at Ludiana.¹ A few years more witnessed his second departure from that place, under auspices of more brilliant promise, but which, after a short interval

¹ Papers relative to the expedition of Shah-Shuja-ul-Mulk into Afghanistan in 1833-4, printed by order of Parliament, 20th March, 1839. Mr. Atkinson, from materials furnished by Shah Shuja himself, gives an account of the expedition, differing in some respect from the official accounts, especially in regard to the conduct of Mehrab Khan, who is accused of having attempted to intercept the Shah's flight, and make him prisoner.—Expedition into Afghanistan, by J. Atkinson, Esq., p. 48. Mr. Masson confirms the official testimony of Mehreb Khan's hospitality to the Shah. He ascribes the defeat at Kandahar to Shah Shuja's precipitancy and want of courage.—Journays in Baluchistan, etc., by C. Masson, Esq., iii. 259.

BOOK III. of uneasy triumph, were signally falsified by his disgrace
CHAP. VIII. and death.

1828-35. From these transactions affecting the Mohammedan princes, we now proceed to consider the state of the relations which subsisted with the several Mahratta chiefs, particularly with the Raja of Nagpore, the Gaekwar, Holkar and Sindhia.

In the first of these principalities, the arrangements, which were rendered unavoidable by the minority of the Raja, and the incapacity or unfitness of the persons at first intrusted with the direction of affairs; imposing the task of management upon the British functionaries, have been already adverted to. Under the judicious and active administration of Mr. Jenkins, Nagpore had made great advances in population and prosperity.¹ Moderate assessments for definite periods had been framed with the concurrence of the cultivators—arbitrary exactions had been prohibited, and the abuses of the native methods of collecting the revenue suppressed. The expenditure of the State had been contracted within the limits of its income, and the troops were obedient, and the people contented. The theoretical dread of interference which was ever present to the imagination of the Home authorities, rendered them regardless of its beneficial operation in the case of Nagpore; and repeated orders insisted on the country's being consigned to the misrule of a youth, who, although not deficient in ability, was of frivolous tastes, and disinclined to serious business. His age, inexperience, and pliability of disposition could not fail to throw him into the hands of interested and mischievous advisers, whose suggestions there was no person of sufficient influence or authority to correct or control, and all the evils of native mal-administration would be again inflicted on the country. Notwithstanding these obvious objections, the injunctions from home, being in harmony

¹ In 1826, the population of the reserved districts was 2,314,000. In 1825, it was 2,471,000, being an increase of 257,000 in five years. The revenue of the earlier date was thirty-five lakhs of rupees; the later forty lakhs; although, in consequence of augmented cultivation, the price of grain had greatly declined. Wheat, which sold in 1820 for twenty rupees the khandi, sold for less than four in 1825. Notwithstanding this fall of price, the agricultural peasantry were in improved circumstances, and the increased revenue was levied without any difficulty—shewing that they were less heavily burthened than when large sums were exacted from them, which never found their way to the public treasury. — Jenkin's Reports on Nagpore, p. 259.

with the policy of the local government, were implicitly obeyed; and it was determined to restore to the Raja, now in his nineteenth year, the uncontrolled management of Nagpore. It was in vain that the Resident advocated the gradual transfer of the ruling authority, and recommended a delay until the Raja should have attained a more mature age; by which time the arrangements that had been found advantageous would have acquired consistency and permanence, and a sufficient balance would have accumulated in the treasury to enable the Raja to provide for the extra demands to which he would be liable, without adding to the burthens of his people, and causing them to relapse into the condition from which they had been so recently extricated. The orders from home constituted the reply to these recommendations; and they were carried into effect. The Raja was installed as the active head of the administration. A Resident, with power to advise and control, was continued; and some of the provinces were retained under his management¹; of which, the surplus revenue was destined to provide for the charge of the subsidiary force until other funds should be available. A treaty was accordingly prepared; in which it was stipulated, that the Raja should ever pay attention to the advice of the British Government, and adopt such ordinances and regulations as it should suggest for ensuring order, economy and integrity in the adjustment and collection of his revenues; and that whenever a deterioration in the resources of the state and the condition of the people might be apprehended, the British Government should be at liberty to bring under its own direct management any portion or the whole of the Raj. At a subsequent date, these stipulations were modified. The reserved districts were restored to the Raja; and the regulation and disposal of his military force, with the exception of the subsidiary troops, left to his unfettered discretion—a privilege for which he was to pay a tribute of eight lakhs of rupees a year, under the denomination of a subsidy. The article respecting the eventual assumption of the management

¹ They were Deogerh above the ghats, Chanda, Chateesgerh, and part of the Wayn Ganga; yielding a net revenue of seventeen lakhs of rupees. — Treaties and Engagements with Native Powers, i. 604. Calcutta, 1845.

BOOK III. of the country was also modified ; and it was stipulated, CHAP. VIII. that, if gross and systematic oppression, anarchy and misrule, should at any time prevail, seriously endangering the public tranquillity and placing in jeopardy the stability of the resources whence the Raja discharged his obligations to the Company, the British Government, reserved to itself the right of re-appointing its own officers to the management of such district or districts of the Nagpore territory, and for so long a period as it might deem necessary. The necessity has, fortunately or the Raja, never arisen ; and the administration of Nagpore has been quietly, and not unsuccessfully, conducted by the native ministers, in friendly dependence upon the Resident.

1828-35.

The ex-Raja of Nagpore, Apa Saheb, had been tempted to quit his asylum in the mountains about the time of the agitation which prevailed in India at the close of the Burmese war ; and, after various adventures, took sanctuary in the temple of Maha Mandira, a celebrated shrine in the territory of Jodhpur. The Raja was at first required to secure the fugitive and deliver him to the British Agent at Ajmere ; but he declined compliance, pleading in excuse his inability to infringe upon the privileges of the temple, and his fear that he should be for ever disgraced in the estimation of all Hindustan if he were to refuse to an unfortunate prince the rights of hospitality. The excuse was admitted, and the demand urged no further ; but Man Sing was held responsible for the conduct of his guest, and expected to restrain him from any attempts to disturb the public tranquillity. Some obscure intrigues were set on foot by Apa Saheb with individuals of no note, who engaged to accomplish his restoration to sovereignty ; but neither the persons nor the projects were of a character to endanger the security or excite the alarm of the government of Nagpore.

The proceedings of Syaji Rao Gaekwar on his accession to the sovereignty of Guzerat, disappointed the expectations which had been founded on his previous familiarity with public business, and his cordial co-operation with the British Resident during the reign of his imbecile predecessor. Relying upon his favorable disposition and

matured experience, considerable latitude was granted to him in the management of his internal affairs, subject to the general control of the Resident, and the observance of all obligations guaranteed by the British Government, according to stipulations which we have already had occasion to describe. These engagements, into which Syaji had readily entered, were soon disregarded; expenses were incurred without the knowledge of the Resident, or in opposition to his judgment, and serious defalcations took place in the revenue. The capitalists of Baroda, who had advanced large sums of money to the Gaekwar, upon the guarantee of the British Government, appealed to it for interposition; and as its own credit, as well as that of the Gaekwar, was at stake, active and decided interference became necessary. Arrangements were in consequence concerted with the minister, Vital Rao Bhao, and concurred in by his master, by which extensive tracts were let in farm to the leading bankers of Baroda, for a term of seven years, upon conditions which protected the interests of the people, as well as of the creditors of the state. The arrangement was concluded under Bhandari, or guarantee of the Company for its faithful execution.

These measures had no sooner been adopted than they excited deep dissatisfaction in the mind of Syaji, who complained that the minister had sacrificed his interests to those of the British Government,¹ and that he had been unjustly deprived of that authority to manage his own affairs with which he had been deliberately invested by Mr. Elphinstone. He also complained, and not without some show of justice, of the many and vexatious encroachments on his authority and his rights, which arose from the multiplication of the guarantees granted by the British Resident. Originally designed for the security of the bankers, whose assistance was indispensable for the solvency of the state, the principle of the Bhandari had undergone a gradual and insensible extension to very

¹ Vital Rao had been appointed sole minister in 1820, upon the dismissal of his former colleague in office, Dhakji Dadaji, removed for peculation, rather against the wish of the Gaekwar, who was desirous of appointing Sitarám, the minister who was deeply implicated in the murder of Gangadhar Sastri, and was therefore decidedly objected to by Mr. Elphinstone. Vital Rao's nomination was acquiesced in as a matter of indifference.—Minute of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, 3 May, 1820.—Report H. of Com., Political App. vi. 23.

BOOK III. different purposes, and comprehended immunities and
CHAP. VIII. privileges, emoluments and pensions, and offices and lands

1828-35.

secured to different individuals for a longer or a shorter period.¹ It was true, that these grants had mostly originated with the Gaekwar himself, and that it was the term of their duration only which was guaranteed; but as this rendered revocation impossible without the Resident's consent, it prevented the prince from following the bent of his own caprice, when disposed to resume the benefactions he had bestowed under a different state of feeling, and rendered the objects of his liberality independent of his change of sentiment. A perpetual struggle took place, therefore, between the Prince and the Resident; the former attempting to set aside, the latter to uphold, the guarantee; pending which the Gaekwar not unfrequently had recourse to violence, and, by seizing upon persons or sequestering lands for the security of which the character of the British Government was pledged, justly incurred its displeasure.

The good effects of the financial arrangement which had been concluded were, in the first instance, frustrated by the occurrence of an almost universal drought, which rendered large remissions of the revenue unavoidable: but a more permanent source of disappointment originated in the conduct of Syaji himself, who, with a short-sightedness not uncommon among Asiatic princes, diverted the revenue from its application to public expenditure, to accumulate it in his private treasury, regardless of the embarrassment of the finances, as long as he was possessed of individual wealth.² The reimbursement of the capitalists who had advanced him loans, the charges of the force he was bound by treaty to maintain, the pay of his own civil

¹ Between 1801-2 and 1827-8, no fewer than 119 Bhandari engagements had been sanctioned, of which fifty four were in force at the latter date; of these, twelve were for loans, twelve for hereditary offices and emoluments, eight for pensions and grants of land, two for personal protection, eight for contracts, seven for dealings between the Gaekwar and his subjects, the rest miscellaneous. The office of Dewan was guaranteed to two families, as a perpetual hereditary duty; but as the representatives of both were obnoxious to Syaji, he employed neither. They received, nevertheless, the *sinecure* pay of minister amounting to about 1,34,000 rupees a year.

² In the course of five years, from 1820-1 to 1825-6, above sixty lakhs of the surplus revenue, appropriable to the discharge of the public debt, were lodged in Syaji's own coffers. Instead of the extinction of the debt, which was to have been effected in this period, it had rather increased, amounting in 1827-8, to one crore and thirty lakhs, although the interest had been reduced in 1822 from ten to six per cent.

and military establishments, all fell into arrears; and no prospect appeared of liquidating the debt, for the realization of which the Company was surety. In fact, the Gackwar was labouring to subvert the settlement, which had been made with the bankers for the farming of the revenues long before their lease expired, and to transfer the assignments, without their consent, to different individuals who professed their readiness to advance money on more favourable terms. The sincerity of these offers was doubtful; and they could not be acceded to without the concurrence of the leaseholders, which not being accorded, the guarantee remained in force. Attributing the disappointment of his schemes to the unfriendly disposition of the Resident, Mr. Williams, the Gackwar endeavoured to enter into a direct communication with the Governor of Bombay, Sir John Malcolm; and sent an agent of his own to the Presidency, not only for that purpose, but to take advantage of the dissensions which were now rife between the Supreme Court and the Government, and array the authority of the former against the latter, in his favour. The irregularity of these proceedings, the repeated violations of guaranteed rights and possessions; the persevering efforts of Syaji to annul the septennial leases, and break his engagements with the bankers, who had contracted them upon the responsibility of the British Government; his inattention to all the representations and remonstrances of the Bombay Government; his inveteracy against the minister of his own election, because he enjoyed the confidence of the Resident, and his insulting treatment of the latter, at length exhausted the forbearance of the Government, and induced it to adopt vigorous measures for the enforcement of the engagements contracted by the Gackwar, under its guarantee. It was resolved, accordingly, to assume the direct management of certain districts of the principality of Guzerat, yielding an annual revenue of twenty-seven lakhs, and to apply the surplus, rated at twenty-one lakhs, to the liquidation of the guaranteed debt; after which, the districts were to be replaced under the Gackwar's officers. A proclamation announcing the arrangement, was put forth, and possession was taken of the sequestered territory by a military force: the general management was assigned to Vital Rao, who

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1628-35.

BOOK III. had been dismissed by Syaji from his office of minister. **CHAP. VII.** A further sequestration was subsequently authorised.

1828-35. order to ensure the maintenance of the contingent ho-
 which the Gaekwar was bound by treaty to keep up for
 service of the British Government. These measures widened
 the breach between the two Governments; and as the pre-
 sence of the British Resident at Baroda only served to ac-
 ment the irritation of Syaji, it was determined to withdraw
 that officer, and place the intercourse with Guzerat, under
 the charge of a Political Commissioner, who should have
 his residence at Ahmedabad.¹ This, however, was only a
 temporary arrangement; and after a short time it was
 found expedient to re-establish the Residency. In the
 interval, a plan was concerted in Syaji's own family, and
 by the most respectable members of his Court, to remove
 from his councils the persons to whose advice they attributed
 the dangerous career in which he had engaged. The
 project was unfortunately betrayed to him; and the principal
 individuals accused of being concerned in it were
 apprehended and put to death, without any investigation
 and in the most cruel manner.²

The different policy which influenced the British Government of India, after Lord William Bentinck's accession to power, disposed it to overlook the refractory proceedings of the Gaekwar, in the hope of getting quit of the system of guarantee, and thus removing the principal cause of disagreement. In 1832 the Earl of Clare, then Governor of Bombay, after a meeting with the Governor-General, Ajmere, visited Baroda on his return, and in communication with the Gaekwar and the principal bankers of the capital, concluded arrangements, which were highly satisfactory to Syaji, and which it was hoped would put an end to the differences that had hitherto prevailed. The bankers were induced to accede to the Gaekwar's proposals for the discharge of his debts, and to release the British Government from any other guarantee than that of personal immunity. A sum of money was deposited by Syaji, in the treasury of Bombay, as a security for the

¹ Minute of Sir John Malcolm, 30th Nov. 1830; review of the affairs of Guzerat. Report Comm. H. of Com. Political. Appen. VI. No. 25.

² Ganpat Rao was beaten to death with clubs; a Brahman, a Bhora merchant of great wealth, and two others implicated in the plot, were built up in cells and left to perish. Or. Documents.

pay of the contingent force ; and upon these arrangements being carried into effect, the sequestrated districts were restored to him.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.

1828-35.

The harmony which had thus been re-established with the Court of Baroda, was not long preserved. There still remained obligations in favour of individuals, of which the British Government could not with any decency get quit, and which were sources of constant annoyance to the Gaekwar, although in some cases equally imperative on himself. He had promised to respect them ; but he had no sooner recovered possession of his country, than he either denied their validity, or violently infringed them. He retained also, as his principal advisers, persons notoriously hostile to the British connexion, and gave countenance and protection to individuals who were charged with committing depredations on the maritime trade, or on the border possessions of the subjects of the Company. The necessary consequences were the discontinuance of the system of forbearance, and recurrence to the sequestration of valuable portions of the Baroda territory. These transactions belong, however, to a subsequent period.

As long as the youth of Malhar Rao Holkar precluded him from exercising any influence over the Government of his country, the affairs of Indore continued to improve under the management of efficient ministers, and the general control of the British Resident. With the advance of the Raja to manhood, the aspect of affairs became less promising. Indolent and extravagant, he displayed no aptitude for the duties of his station, but lent a ready ear to the mischievous counsels of unworthy favourites, at whose suggestions the more prudent advice of his ministers was unheeded ; and their endeavours to restrain his prodigality were defeated. The ill-effects of his conduct were partly obviated by the aid of his adoptive mother, who had the command of the accumulated treasure, which the providence of the ministers had amassed ; and, partly by the brief duration of his reign, which terminated before the defects of his character had time to be fully developed. He died in October, 1833, at the age of twenty-seven.

No event of any serious importance disturbed the tranquillity of Indore, during the life of its Prince. A feudatory

BOOK III. of Udaypur, the Thakur of Bigu, possessed himself for
 CHAP. VIII. season of the border district of Nandwai, and levied con-
 tributions from the neighbourhood. He was expelled b

1828-35. Holkar's troops, including the contingent under the com-
 mand of a British officer; and the Rana of Udaypur, a
 responsible for the outrage committed by his dependan
 was compelled by the interposition of the British author-
 ties to pay a compensation for the injury and expense t
 which the territory of Indore had been subjected.

Some disturbance and apprehension were excited i
 various parts of Malwa, contiguous to Holkar's possessions
 by the appearance of a Hindu fanatic, a Patel of a villag
 in Sondwara, who passed himself off for an incarnation o
 the Mahratta divinity, Kandi Rao, and pretended to hav
 the power of miraculously curing cholera, and other dan-
 gerous diseases. Absurd as were his pretensions, h
 found abundance of adherents, and numbers both of hors
 and foot flocked to his standard. Thus strengthened, h
 proceeded to levy contributions, both in kind and money
 from the surrounding villages; and raised considerable
 sums, which were devoted to the equipment of his fol-
 lowers. The officers of Sindhia and Holkar were unable to
 make head against the fanatic; and a strong party of the
 Mahidpore contingent, under Capt. McMahon, was de-
 tached against him. The insurgents confiding in the
 superhuman character of their chief, and believing him to
 be invulnerable, boldly advanced to [attack the division
 but were received by a steady fire, under which their
 leader fell; thus undeceived, his adherents immediately
 broke and fled, and the disturbance was quelled with the
 same facility with which it had been excited.

Malhar Rao dying childless, his widow, in concert with
 her mother-in-law, adopted a boy who was said to be a
 descendant of Tookaji Holkar. At the time of his adop-
 tion, he was between three and four years of age, and was
 installed by the title of Martand Rao; the administration
 remaining in the hands of Madho Rao Furnavis, the
 minister of the late Raja, with the support, and under the
 guidance of Kesari Bai, the Ma-ji, or mother of Malhar Rao.
 The installation was attended by the British representa-
 tive, but no formal sanction was given to the adoption, as
 the succession was likely to be disputed. The British

Government thus leaving to a probable conflict the decision of a question, which the slightest intimation of its will would at once have set at rest, either by sanctioning the elevation of Martand Rao, or by acknowledging the preferable validity of the claim of his competitor Hari Holkar, the son of Itoji, the elder brother of Jeswant Rao, who had been held in confinement at Maheswara, during the preceding reign.¹

BOOK III.

CHAP. VIII.

1828-35.

Although having good cause to apprehend the consequences of the liberation of Hari Holkar, the authorities at Indore appear to have taken no precaution against such an event, and he was very soon released from confinement by a body of Bhils and Mewatis, and partisans from the neighbouring Mahratta districts. The fort and town of Maheswar fell at once into his hands. As the British Resident refused to give any support to the infant Raja, the Bais felt their inability to oppose Hari Holkar, and sent a message, acquiescing in his elevation, and inviting him to Indore. Notwithstanding this recognition of his claims, he hesitated to leave Maheswara until he obtained the additional security of a British escort; and with some degree of inconsistency, but under a feeling that the presence of a new Raja was necessary at Indore, to arrest the signs of popular commotion which were beginning to appear, the Resident directed a detachment of the 5th Local Horse, and a British officer, to conduct the Raja to the city. Hari Holkar made his entry into Indore in March, 1834, and was seated on the cushion of sovereignty in the following April, in the presence of the Resident. A Khelat was shortly after presented to him, on the part of the Governor-General. The child Martand Rao, was dismissed with his parents to his home in the Dekhin, where they were indebted for a maintenance to the interposition of the British Government. The character of the new Raja was no better calculated than that of his predecessor to maintain the credit, or promote the prospects of the State. His minister, Revaji Phansia, whom he called from the Dekhin to his councils, apparently because he had been in the service of Jeswant Rao Holkar some fifteen years before, was wholly unfit for the duties of his

¹ He is noticed by Malcolm, as having behaved with great gallantry at Mahidpur. — Central India, I. 319.

BOOK III. office, and availed himself of his influence over the Raja
 CHAP. VIII. to apply the limited resources of the country to his own pri-
 . 1828-35. vate emolument. Under his mismanagement the revenues
 rapidly declined—the expenditure exceeded the receipts
 —the troops became mutinous for arrears of pay, and the
 people were oppressed and discontented. A conspiracy
 against the Raja was organised, and had nearly succeeded,
 when the hesitation of the leaders caused its failure. The
 Raja and his minister reaped no benefit from the lesson,
 and their mal-administration, unchecked by the inter-
 position of the British Government, produced its usual
 results—the necessity of that interference which it had
 been so much an object to avoid, in order to save the
 State of Indore from utter dissolution.¹

The States of Dhar and Dewas, bordering on the terri-
 tories of Indore, remained faithful to their engagements
 with the British authorities, and were, in general, ably
 and peaceably governed. The tranquillity of the former
 was disturbed towards the close of 1831, by a serious
 incursion of the Bhils, subject to the principality. This
 was partly owing to the abolition of the British agency of
 Bhopawar, by the superintendence of which the Bhils
 were equally deterred from committing any outrage on
 the peaceable cultivators, and protected in the enjoyment
 of their acknowledged rights. The removal of British
 superintendence was followed by a relaxed system of con-
 trol, and by iniquitous encroachments and exactions. This
 vexatious conduct provoked the Bhils to relapse into their
 predatory habits; and they assembled in arms and plun-
 dered the adjacent districts. They were further excited to
 insubordination by the presence of an individual, Uchet
 Sing, who gave himself out to be the son of Murari Rao
 Powar, a former competitor for the principality, and the
 reputed grandson of Jeswant Rao Powar, who was killed at
 the battle of Panipet. Murari Rao had carried on a des-
 perate struggle for several years with the ruler of Dhar, in
 which he was foiled by the aid of Jeswant Rao Holkar: his
 chief adherents were the the Bhils, who transferred their

¹ In 1837-8, the Raja was informed, that the British Government would con-
 sider it to be its duty to assume the management of the country, unless the
 Resident should report a material amelioration. The intimation had the
 desired effect, and important reforms were instituted.

attachment to his son. Being unable to put a stop to the insurrection, and anticipating the ruin of the country, the Government of Dhar earnestly solicited the interposition of the British Government; and, after some hesitation it was granted, on condition that an inquiry should be instituted into the causes of the disturbance, and that the measures thought necessary for its settlement should be complied with. To this the Raja was compelled to agree; but the insurgents rejected the offered mediation, and troops were sent against them, under Captain Outram, by whose activity the Bhils were soon reduced to submission. Uchet Sing and his principal adherents came into camp on an assurance of safety, and a promise that their claims should be inquired into and equitably adjusted. Accordingly, an agreement was concluded, by which Uchet Sing in consideration of a pension from the Dhar State, consented to relinquish his pretensions; and the acts of extortion and oppression of which the Bhils complained, were redressed. Shortly after tranquillity was restored the Raja died, and as he left no son, the widow, with the concurrence of the British Government, adopted a son, who succeeded by the title of Maha Rao Powar.

The arrangements at Gwalior which ensued upon the death of Dowlat-Rao-Sindhia, involved abundantly the seeds of future dissension. Baiza Bai, forced very reluctantly to adopt a successor to her husband, clung tenaciously to the notion that it was Sindhia's intention that she should hold the regency during her natural life, and regarded with extreme jealousy the growing years and pretensions of the young Raja. As he was on the eve of adolescence when adopted, Janakaji soon came to think himself old enough to be let loose from the trammels of tutelage, and to be entitled to more than nominal authority; and he did not want advisers to stimulate him to assert his claims. They were, in truth, recognized by the British Government, when it insisted upon the Bai's consent to the Raja's being provided with a separate seal, and refused to receive any official communication from the Court of Gwalior, which was not authenticated by its impression. The Bai was under the necessity of complying; but she did not therefore forego her hope of being allowed to retain her power, if not in her own right, at

III. least, as Regent. She did not despair of setting Janakaji
 VIII. aside altogether, especially as the grand-daughter to whom
 — he was affianced, had died, and her own daughter, Chimna
 -35. Bai, was pregnant, affording a prospect of an heir to
 Sindhia, in a direct line. Repeated applications were
 made by her to the British Government to favour her
 views, but they met with no encouragement: the adoption
 of a son, and his succession to the throne, having received
 the concurrence of all the chief members of the court of
 Gwalior and the principal persons of the camp, not ex-
 cepting the nearest relatives of the Bai.

The restraints imposed by the Bai upon the young
 Raja having become intolerable, he took an opportunity of
 escaping from the palace in which he was kept under
 strict supervision, and sought refuge with the Resident,
 asserting that he did not consider his life safe, from the
 insolence of his guards, and from the machinations of the
 Bai. With some difficulty, a reconciliation was effected;
 but upon the visit to Lord W. Bentinck to Gwalior, both
 parties were earnest with him to sanction their respective
 pretensions. With that indecision which characterized
 the policy of the Government in its relations with native
 states, no positive expression of its will or opinion was
 pronounced. The Governor-General recommended the
 young Raja to be satisfied with the position he occupied,
 in which he might regard himself as a fortunate person,
 and for which he was indebted to Baiza Bai, to whom a
 feeling of gratitude should, therefore, render him sub-
 missive. If he awaited patiently the course of events, the
 Governor-General would recommend to the Bai not to
 supersede the Raja by any other adoption; but if he
 raised disturbances, the consequences must fall upon him-
 self: the British Government would not interfere in his
 favour.¹ The parties were, in short, to follow their own
 views—the Bai to keep her power as long as she was
 able—the Raja to wrest it from her if he could. The
 general purport of the recommendations was, however,
 rather favourable to the continuance of the Bai in au-
 thority; and such was her impression.² The only result

¹ Report of a conference between the Governor General and Janaka Rao
 Sindhia, at Gwalior.—*Asiatic Monthly Journal*, xiv. 7.

² The Bai, in her correspondence with the Governor General, always un-
 hesitatingly asserted that he had confirmed her in the Regency, and authorised

ter to co
 the rema
 tem mli
 of blame
 to nation
 late with i

of the visit of the Governor-General was to render the breach more irreparable than ever.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.

1828-35.

At length, in the middle of 1833, the quarrel came to a crisis. The cause of the Raja was embraced by some of the disciplined battalions of the Gwalior state; and on the morning of the 10th of July, the palace was beset by a turbulent soldiery, a portion of whom carried off the Raja to the camp, and the rest, mounting guard upon the palace, threatened the adherents of the Bai with destruction. The Bai, alarmed for her personal safety, fled from the palace by a private door, and repaired on foot to the residence of her brother, Hindu Rao, where she requested the presence of the Resident. Agreeably to the principle of neutrality which had been enjoined, he declined to obey the summons; and the Bai, having obtained the escort of a battalion of one of the brigades, of which the commandant Jose Sikander remained faithful, repaired by a circuitous route to the dwelling of Mr. Cavendish. She was met on the way by a strong party of the Raja's troops, under Gopal Bhao Sindhia, and a conflict might have ensued, unless it had been stopped by the Resident, who required both parties to suspend hostilities until he had communicated with the Raja. In consequence of his representations, the Raja consented to permit the Bai to retire unmolested from the Gwalior territory, and promised to grant her a liberal annual income if she would reside peaceably within the dominions of the Company. To these conditions the Bai was prevailed upon to accede; and she withdrew in the first instance to Dholpur, on the confines of Gwalior, the possession of the Raja of Gohud, whence she endeavoured to interest the British Government in her restoration, and to excite a counter revolution in the Gwalior State, declaring that she was willing to cede the country entirely to the Company; but that she was resolved never to submit to the usurpation of an ungrateful boy whom she had raised to power, and who was wholly incapable of exercising sovereign sway. The

her to continue in the management of the state. "It is very extraordinary," she remarks, "that, while your Lordship is my protector, such injuries have been inflicted on me, a circumstance which cannot but be considered a cause of shame to yourself." The only answer she received was the remark that no station in life was exempt from vicissitudes, and an exhortation to bear her fate with resignation.

BOOK III. Raja was, however, acknowledged by the British Government; and a letter from the Governor-General congratulated him on his accession — recommending him at the same time to treat the Bai with consideration, restore to her what she claimed as her private property, and set such of her adherents as had been arrested at liberty, with permission to join their mistress. The recommendations were complied with. Chimna Bai, with her husband and daughter, and Hindu Rao, repaired to the camp of Baiza Bai; and the whole party removed to Agra. Chimna Bai, who by her amiable character had engaged general regard, died in giving birth to an infant, which did not survive its mother; and the hopes of a male heir in the direct line were extinguished. The vicinity of Agra enabling the dispossessed princess to carry on secret intrigues at Gwalior, she was sometime afterward obliged to cross the Jumna, and retire to a greater distance. She refused to move further than Furrukhabad, where she remained encamped, surrounded by a numerous body of armed followers, and importuning the Government for its interference, as far as regarded her claims to a large amount of treasure to which her right was disputed: her application was complied with, and a liberal pension was ensured to her on condition of her abstaining from all intrigues against the Raja, and retiring to her Jagir in the South of India. With great reluctance, and after a long delay, Baiza Bai, finding that her followers were deserting her, and that there was no chance of recovering her authority at Gwalior, acceded to the conditions proposed, and repaired to the Dekhin. She was a woman of high spirit, and respectable conduct, not destitute of ability to govern, but disposed to shew injudicious partiality to her own kin, and greedy in accumulating private wealth at the expense of public establishments. She was violent in temper, but not cruel or vindictive, and during her administration the affairs of Gwalior were conducted with as much efficiency as those of any other native principality. The first years of her successor might have justified regret for her deposal, as they were a perpetual scene of turbulence and danger. The insubordination of the ill-trained and irregularly paid battalions, which constituted the chief military force of the state, displayed itself in re-

peated mutinies and disturbances, not only fatal to internal prosperity, but dangerous to the tranquillity of the neighbouring states; and they at last produced the catastrophe, which Dowlat Rao had predicted,—the virtual assumption of the civil and military administration of the Gwalior principality by the British Government.¹

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.

1828-35.

The relations with the Rajput states during this period, presented the same fluctuating and contradictory policy, arising from the same causes—the desire to withdraw from interference, and the impossibility of so doing consistently with the preservation of these states from the effects of their own misrule, and the evident obligation imposed upon the British Government as the paramount power. The conflict between these opposing principles gave occasion to much temporary mischief, and most commonly ended in an extent of interposition exceeding the limits which had been originally proposed.

After the death of Zalim Sing of Kota, he was succeeded, in his joint-administration of the principality by his son, Madho Sing; and although, during the life of his father, Maha Rao Kishore Sing had regarded him with strong feelings of dislike, which there was little hope his own conduct would remove; yet, by the prudent and judicious mediation of the Agent, Colonel Caulfield, and the moderation of the Raj Rana, the Rao and his ministerial co-equal continued on friendly terms, until the death of the former, which took place in July, 1828. When on his death-bed, he required the presence of the Agent, at that time, Lieutenant Hislop, and consigned to his care the honour of his family and the safety of his nephew, Ram Sing, whom he had adopted, and by whom he was succeeded. The young prince was taught to entertain less amicable feelings for the Raj Rana, and frequent dissensions prevailed between them. The administration of the Rana was unpopular, from the heavy taxes laid upon the people, in consequence of the embarrassment of the finances. Arrangements suggested by the Resident, relieved the latter, and the obnoxious exactions were taken off; but no cordiality could be restored between the sovereign-minister and his nominal master. The death of the former, in February,

¹ See treaty with Jyaji Rao Sindhia, 13th January, 1844.—Papers respecting Gwalior, printed by order of Parliament, March and April, 1844.

BOOK III. 1833, removed one object of the Rao's discontent, but the
 CHAP. VIII. same division of authority was perpetuated by the treaty,
 1828-35. and Madan Sing the son of Madho Sing succeeded to the
 reality of power attached to the dignity of Raj Rana. The
 youth and inexperience of Madan Sing rendered him the
 tool of mischievous advisers, whose counsels widened the
 breach with the Maha Rao ; while a party against him was
 formed by his own followers, in order to place his uncle
 Goverdhan Das at the head of affairs. These intrigues
 were baffled by him with the assistance of the Resident ;
 and he continued in possession of his obnoxious office.
 The impossibility of reconciling interests so reciprocally
 repulsive as those of the Raj Rana and Maha Rao impos-
 ed upon the Government, at a date somewhat posterior to
 that at which we have arrived, the adoption of the only
 means of terminating the disagreement—the partition of
 the state between the two princes, in mutually independ-
 ent sovereignty. A third of the territories was assigned
 to the Raj Rana, under the name of Jhalawar ; and the
 other two-thirds, constituting the principality of Kota,
 were placed under the undivided government of the Maha
 Rao.¹

The affairs of Bundi, during the minority of the Raja,
 Ram Sing, continued under the arrangement of the Rani
 mother, whose object, and that of her creatures with whom
 the court was filled, was the exclusion of the Raja from
 the independent exercise of authority as long as possible,
 and the perpetuation of the administration of the Rani.
 In furtherance of this project, she kept her son in a state
 of ignorance and vice, and encouraged him in all kinds of
 mischievous indulgence. Part of her policy consisted in
 estranging him from his wife, a daughter of Man Sing, the
 Raja of Jodhpur ; and persuading him to treat his bride
 with coldness and neglect. The Marwar princess, a lady
 of lofty pretensions on the score of birth, and arrived at
 years of maturity, being ten years older than the Raja,
 highly resented this treatment, and complained of the con-
 tumely she had experienced to her father, who warmly
 pressed the British Agent to interpose his influence to

¹ The district was estimated to yield a revenue of from twelve to fifteen lakhs (120,000*l.* to 150,000*l.*) a year. A third of the tribute payable by Kota, or 80,000 rupees a year, was transferred to Jhalawar. These arrangements took place in 1838.

secure for her the consideration to which she was entitled. As this was declined, the Raja of Jodhpur sent an envoy to Bundi to insist that his daughter should receive the treatment due to her superiority of rank and her nuptial rights, or that she should be allowed to return immediately to Jodhpur. Some improvement followed the intimation, and the young Rani became pregnant; an event which aggravated the aversion and jealousy of the Queen mother, and instigated her to influence the Raja to a renewal of his former disregard of his wife. Her appeals to Man Sing were repeated, and a deputation, attended by a strong body of armed men was sent to demand the return of the Princess, and to escort her to her father, who did not hesitate to express his apprehension that the lives of his daughter and her infant were insecure from the practices of the Dowager Rani. The party, three hundred strong, encamped outside the walls of the city; but there was also a considerable number of Marwaris in the town, forming the original suite of the princess. One of the newly-arrived party presented himself before the minister, Deva Krishan Rao, in public durbar, under pretext of being sent to learn when the deputation would be received; and, before an answer could be returned, he drew his sword and killed the minister. The assassin was attacked and slain; and the Raja ordered the chief of the deputation to be seized; but the execution of the order was delayed for the arrival from Kota of the Political Assistant, Mr. Trevelyan, to whom information of the assassination had been quickly conveyed. The gates were closed, by which the Marwaris on the outside were prevented from joining the party in the town, who had fortified themselves in a house occupied by the principal servants of the young Rani. By command of the Raja, who exhibited unexpected firmness and resolution, guns were brought to bear upon the mansion; and it was soon rendered untenable. The defenders retired to another, near the city wall, where they were surrounded by the Raja's troops. The persuasions and assurances of Mr. Trevelyan, who had reached Bundi, induced the body on the outside of the town to withdraw within the Kota frontier, and at his intercession the Rao permitted the departure of those who were in the city, with exception of three of their leaders

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1828-35.

BOOK III. who were seized and put to death. The deputation re-
 CHAP. VIII. turned to Jodhpur, where the indignation of Man Sing
 1828-35. was vehemently excited by the death and disgrace of his
 emissaries. He denied having in any way authorised the
 murder of the minister, and asserted that it was an act of
 private revenge, unconnected with any inimical feeling
 against him for the share that might be imputed to his
 advice, in the indignities to which the princess had been
 subjected. The members of the deputation declared also
 that they knew nothing of the assassin, and had gone to
 Bundi without any hostile design against the minister, and
 that they had desisted from forcing their way into the
 town and rescuing their countrymen, only under the im-
 pression that the Political Agent was responsible for their
 safety.¹ Great excitement prevailed throughout Haravati
 and Marwar. The universal feeling of the Rahtores was
 expressed by Man Sing, when he represented to the Political
 Agent at Ajmere, that life was burthensome to him;
 that he and his tribe would be the laughing-stock of Hin-
 dustan; they would every where be put to shame by the
 reproach that a Hara had killed a Rahtore, and nothing
 had been done to wipe away the disgrace. A long and
 acrimonious discussion ensued; but the firm interposition
 of the British authorities compelled a sullen acquiescence
 in the mutual oblivion of injuries; and British ascendancy
 averted the breaking out of a war, which, in preceding
 years, would, in all probability, have spread bloodshed and
 desolation throughout Rajputana. The approach of the
 Governor-General confirmed the continuance of concord,
 and intimidated the Dowager Rani into a reconciliation
 with her daughter-in-law, who was restored to the good
 graces of her husband, to whom she had in the meantime
 borne a son. The murder of the minister deprived the
 Raja of a valuable servant, by whose good management

¹ Notwithstanding their earnestly disclaiming the purpose of killing the minister, there was reason to suspect that it was one of the principal objects of the mission. Bhubhut Sing, one of the leaders who had accompanied the party from Jodhpur, but had joined that in the city, had openly avowed his intention; and he was supposed to have been the especial agent of Man Sing, in the assassination. It was also remarkable, as Colonel Sutherland observes, that the news-writer of the Political Agent at Jodhpur gave intimation of Man Sing's intention to put the Bundi minister to death, several days before the crime was perpetrated; and that the report was published in the Delhi native newspapers without attracting any notice.—Sketches of Political Relations, 91.

the debts of the state had been cleared off, the revenues had been increased, and the prosperity of the country had been augmented; but his example was not lost upon the Raja, and the condition of Bundi is said to bear favourable testimony to the character of its ruler.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1828-35.

We have not had occasion to advert in any detail to the affairs of the principal Rajput states since the close of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, and our retrospect of the relations maintained with them must therefore comprehend the interval which had subsequently elapsed. The prosperous condition of Udaypur, which had been the work in a great measure of the British Resident, speedily declined with his secession from the immediate direction of affairs, and the transfer to the Rana and his ministers, of that uncontrolled authority which it was their duty and privilege to exercise. The Rana, profuse in his expenditure and lavish in his liberality, was soon involved in pecuniary embarrassments, and by improvidently alienating the revenues of the crown lands in grants to his favourites greatly impoverished his resources. The Thakurs, who had engaged to restore the lands they had usurped, reluctantly and imperfectly executed their engagements; and the want of means to maintain a respectable force relieved them from any apprehension of compulsion. The same want of a sufficient body of effective troops emboldened the lawless tribes in Udaypur and on its confines to renew their depredations, and their ravages supplied the cultivators with a plea for the non-payment of the government revenues. From these circumstances, the defalcation in the public finances became daily more considerable, and the Rana was unable to pay the tribute which he was bound by treaty to discharge. The pecuniary interests of the Company being thus endangered, resort was again had, in 1823, to more decided interference. In consequence of the interposition of the Resident, the minister, Sheo Lall, by whom the prodigality of the Rana had been checked, and the demands on the chiefs resolutely urged, and who had therefore been displaced, was restored to power. The Kalsa lands were let out to farm: the collection of the customs was superintended by officers appointed by the Resident, and the personal expenses of the Rana were limited to a fixed sum.

BOOK III. The same amount of control that had been at first exercised by the Resident was again vested in him through the urgency of the case, and at the desire of the Rana ; and
 CHAP. VIII. 1828-35. he became virtually the Prime Minister of Udaypur. Beneficial consequences resulted from the arrangement. In the course of two years, or in 1825, the revenues and expenditure were equalised, the debts of the Rana were liquidated, and the arrears of the tribute discharged ; although the improvement of the financial interests of the state was impeded by the disturbed condition of several of the hilly districts, and the predatory practices of their inhabitants, the Minas and Bhils, on the south and west of Mewar.

The south-western portion of Udaypur, designated Chappan, formed an irregular square, of which the capital, the cantonment of Nimuch, and the towns of Dungarpur and Pertabgerh, might be considered as the angles. It consisted chiefly of a series of hills and forests, of which the most inaccessible portions were occupied by tribes of Minas ; but the plains and more open parts were cultivated by other and more industrious races ; and many tracts were in a highly prosperous condition. The forest tribes inhabited small villages on the skirts of the hills, each under its own head-man, and of which several constituted a Pal, also under its elected chief. The villages covered a considerable extent, as every house was detached, having round it a patch of ground sufficient for the supply of the moderate wants of the mountaineers, whose principal food was the meal of Indian corn, and buttermilk, the produce of their herds which found pasture in the wilderness. A number of Pals constituted a Jagir, the head of which was a Rajput ; who, while professing fealty to the Rana, enjoyed little authority for good among the tribes, and retained his influence chiefly by being the secret abettor, and not unfrequently the instigator of the depredations committed by his people, sharing in the plunder. These depredations were carried, in 1823, to an alarming extent ; and as the irregulars in the service of the Rana were wholly unequal to check them, it was determined to send a detachment of regular troops against the marauders. Lieut. Colonel Lumley, with two Regiments of N. I., a squadron of regular cavalry, and four of Local

Horse, with a train of artillery, accompanied by the Resident, and a body of the Rana's military, marched into the hills. The Minas made no attempt to oppose them: concealing their women, children, and cattle, in the recesses of the hills, and, abandoning the villages, they lurked in the surrounding thickets, cutting off stragglers, stealing or maiming the baggage cattle, and harassing the line of march. Cavalry could not reach them. The matchlocks of the irregulars were ineffective, and the musquets of the Sipahis were often fruitlessly discharged against an object scarcely distinguishable from the bushes, amidst which the Minas cowered. The chief weapon of the mountaineers was the bow and arrow, which they used with singular force and precision, and many of the men and horses received serious and sometimes fatal wounds. It was evident that regular military operations could be undertaken with little prospect of success: and measures of conciliation were tried, which, combined with the destruction of a few villages, and the awe inspired by the presence of the Company's troops had the desired effect. The head-men were induced to come into camp, and engagements were formed with them personally to the exclusion of their nominal chiefs, whose Jagirs were resumed, and to whom lands were given in the plains as compensation. The villagers subscribed to conditions, by which they promised to pay through their Gomaitis, or head-men, the stipulated proportion of the crop, and to give up their weapons, and admit the establishment of police stations among their hills, and to abstain from all acts of violence and plunder: from putting their infants to death, and from killing cows. In requital of which obligations they were exempted from a number of vexatious and oppressive demands formerly made by the Jagirdars. The regular troops were then withdrawn, and police-stations were established at convenient places. The Minas appeared to be well satisfied with the change. As long as these stipulations were enforced, a tolerable degree of quietness was preserved; but some of the sequestered lands were restored by the Rana's officers to their former occupants. Those who were still dispossessed recovered sufficient influence to excite the people to tumult and plunder. The example of the adjacent districts encou-

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1828-35.

BOOK III. raged the repetition of disorder; and, although no formal system of resistance was developed, yet Chappan continued for several years to be the scene of partial outbreaks and frequent acts of violence and rapine.

A principal cause of the difficulty of preserving subordination among the Minns of Chappan was the incessant state of disorder which prevailed throughout a similar tract of country, extending to the south and east of Udaypur from the confines of Dungarpur to the borders of Sirohi, tenanted, in great part, by Bhils, but numerous interspersed with the descendants of a mixed race sprung from Rajput fathers and Bhil mothers. To this class, known here collectively as Grasias, the chiefs belonged; and their blended affinity with either class of the population secured them the fidelity and attachment of both. The Grasias had probably occupied these tracts originally as foudatories of Mewar; but for many years they had yielded no service which was not compulsory; and the Rana of Udaypur had not, for a long period, been able to extract from them homage or revenue. Conceiving, however, that the Rana was entitled justly to both, and that the pecuniary claims of the British Government, which pressed heavily on his resources, required that he should be enabled to realise what was due to himself, it was deemed advisable to comply with his earnest solicitation, that the Resident would take upon himself the enforcement of his demands on the districts of the Grasia chiefs, and compel them to pay a tribute or a proportion of their crops to the public treasury. Advantage was taken of the presence of the regular troops employed in Chappan to intimidate the Grasia chiefs into acquiescence; and for a time it was successful. The chiefs, while asserting their claims to independence, acknowledged the supremacy of the Rana; agreed to pay him a small annual tribute; to admit military stations within their boundaries; and promised to abstain from all acts of violence and pillage. They declared, however, their inability to keep their people in order; and threw the maintenance of tranquillity and security upon the Rana. As long as a regular force was on the spot, the Bhils and Grasias, although occasionally harassing them and cutting off stragglers,

refrained from any serious molestation of their neighbours the peaceable Ryots or cultivators of the lands, from inter-village feuds, and from depredations on travellers and traders. This source of intimidation was not long held over them. In the beginning of 1827, instructions from the authorities in England forbade the employment of the Company's troops for the purpose of preserving order in the territories of allied princes; and agreeably to the orders received from home, the detachment which had been sent from Nimuch was recalled to cantonments. The peace of these wild districts was consequently left to the troops of the Rana stationed at the several Thanas, in very insufficient strength, and composed of men undisciplined, imperfectly armed, ill paid, and not unfrequently cowardly or disaffected. Of such a force the Bhils stood in little fear; and the Thanas were the objects of repeated and desperate attacks. They usually, however, maintained their ground; a result attributable solely to the untiring energy and skilful arrangements of a British officer, Captain Black, assistant to the Resident, to whose personal superintendence, the management of these districts was entrusted. By the judicious manner in which the several posts were distributed, and by the confidence of the men in the vigilance and activity of their commandant, each station was assured of support in the moment of danger; and resolutely resisted its assailants until the expected reinforcements, which never failed, arrived. The character of his men, and the nature of the country, prevented Captain Black from following up his successes; and he was restricted by the inefficiency of his means, to a course of defensive operations against, not a mere desultory rising of barbarians banded together for plunder, but against an almost universal insurrection of the Bhils, in vindication of the claims of a chief whom they considered unjustly deprived of his rights; and who, by his personal character and his connection with other Thakurs, exercised a very extensive influence over the wild tribes of the Grasia hills.

At the time of effecting settlements with the Grasia chiefs, one of their number, the Rao of Jawas, was prevailed upon to place his Jagir entirely in the hands of the British Agent, and to be contented with a small portion

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1828-35.

BOOK III. only of his hereditary chiefship. He not only acquiesced
 CHAP. VIII. in the arrangement, but submitted cheerfully to the au-

1828-35. thority of the Rana; and, on several occasions, rendered good service to the stations which were attacked by the Bhils. The general feeling in the hills was, nevertheless, that his submission was the effect of fear, and that he was only temporising; an impression apparently erroneous, the Rao being a young man of no resolution, who had had enjoyed little power while nominally independent, and who probably cared but little whether a British officer or an overbearing kinsman relieved him of the burthen of government. That kinsman was equally indifferent. Dowlat Sing, the maternal uncle of the Rao of Jawas, who had hitherto managed the estates of his nephew, accompanied by a confidential servant, Govind Khwas, a man of great activity and daring, refused their assent to the negotiation, and returned to the hills, where they kept up, for more than four years, a perpetual state of irritation and alarm. The indiscriminate rapine which they allowed their followers to commit, rallied round them all the desperate characters of the hills; and, aided by the contributions which they received secretly from the other Grasia chiefs, and which it was said they obtained even from persons of influence about the Court, they were enabled to give solidity to their marauding bands by enlisting Arab and Sindh mercenaries from Guzerat and Sindh. At the head of these, they repeatedly attacked the Thanas under Captain Black's superintendence, and especially that of Khairwara, which commanded the road from the Eastern to the Western hills. On one occasion they brought against it three hundred matchlock men and two thousand Bhils; but the steadiness of the irregulars, and the prompt succours which they received through the admirable arrangements of Captain Black, as well as the courage inspired by his presence, foiled the assailants. Had a single station been overpowered, the whole of the border villages would have been in a state of open rebellion; the suppression of which would not have been effected without the employment of a powerful force and the loss of many valuable lives.

The vacillating policy of the British Government had for some time past discountenanced the interposition of

the Resident in the affairs of Udaypur, and the Rana and his minister had been left once more without aid or control. The necessity in which the minister was thus placed of requiring support from other quarters, together with the absence of any check upon his proceedings, led him into an extravagant course of corruption and expenditure, to maintain a fund for which intolerable exactions were levied from the people. The Thakurs, also, no longer intimidated by the presence of British troops, broke their engagements, withheld their payments and their quotas, and plundered the domains of the Crown. The bordering tribes, encouraged by the weakness of the Government, and the example of the chiefs, became still more daring in their outrages, and carried their devastations to the gates of Udaypur. The insecurity of person and property, from the numerous bands of robbers who infested the road, and the extortions of the fiscal officers of the minister, completely ruined all commerce, and put a stop to cultivation. The emergency roused the Rana to exertion. The minister was again dismissed, and the exactions of the collectors prevented. Some of the hill chiefs, who had been replaced in their fiefs, were prevailed upon to co-operate with the Rana's detachments, under Captain Black, in restoring order; and through their aid, several villages, which had become notorious for deeds of pillage and murder, were attacked and destroyed. The British Government also, found itself obliged to interfere effectively; and while awaiting the organisation of a local corps, which Captain Black was authorised to levy, a detachment of three regiments of Native Infantry was sent from Nimuch, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Burgh, to act under the direction of the Resident. Combining with the display of power thus at his disposal, the conciliatory principle of restoring the dispossessed chiefs to their sequestered Jagirs, under restrictions calculated to prevent their exacting from the villages more than a due proportion of the crops, and subjecting them to the supremacy of the Rana, to be exercised through the superintendence of a British functionary, the restoration of order went briskly forward; and towards the end of 1827, the Minas of Chappan had mostly returned to the peaceable cultivation of the lands under their former chieftains.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1828-35.

128-35.

Shortly after the pacification of his border districts, or early in 1828, the Rana of Udaypur, Bhim Sing died: his reign, protracted through more than half a century, had witnessed extraordinary changes in the condition of Hindustan; the decay and extinction of the Mogul empire; the ascendancy, decline, and final overthrow of the Marhattas; and the first dawn and full expansion of the British power.¹ His reign had been fertile in vicissitudes; he had experienced all the sufferings which Mahratta and Patan insolence and rapacity could inflict; but his latter years had been free from insult, and his country had been

¹ In 1826, Bhim Sing conversed with the British Resident on the changes which, in common with other parts of India, his dominions had suffered from the aggressions of the Mohammedans, and the conquests of the Mahrattas; but none of these events were in his opinion so unintelligible as the empire of foreigners, who came from the West in ships, from a country before unknown. "Seated in Durbar, in the halls of his ancestors, with his princely son, the present Maha Rana, on his left hand, and surrounded by the nobles and chiefs of his house, Bhim Sing discussed these subjects with a frankness and good humour, which belong in a more remarkable degree to a Rajput than to any other native of India." Sutherland's Political Sketches, 71.

U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

protected from predatory aggression. The indolence of his disposition, and the weakness which rendered him the tool of favourites, prevented him from reaping the full benefit of the change; and the constant urgency of his new allies and protectors, for punctuality in the discharge of his pecuniary obligations, must have been scarcely less obnoxious to him than the exactions of Amir Khan. He preserved, however, uniformly, a calm and dignified deportment, worthy of his high descent and his pre-eminent rank among the Hindu Princes of India. He was succeeded by his son Jivan Sing, who, during the last years of his father's life, had exercised considerable influence in public affairs, and by whose experience and ability it was expected that the affairs of Udaypur would be retrieved. One of the first steps taken towards the new Raja, was the recurrence to the policy of non-interference, which had now become avowedly the principle of the Government: the preservation of tranquillity in the Mina and Bhil districts of Udaypur was declared to be of no material concern to British India. The management of these territories was accordingly relinquished. The Rana assumed the charge of Chappan, and the Grasia hills were replaced under the exclusive control of their several chiefs—the whole being held responsible for the conduct of their subjects towards the adjacent states; a responsibility which the Grasia declared they could not undertake, when the British troops or the Rana's were withdrawn, as they could not control the turbulent and marauding propensities of their dependants. Notwithstanding these representations, and the evils certain to result to the peace, not only of the Grasia hills, but of Sindh and Malwa; and the insurmountable bar thus opposed to the improvement of commercial intercourse, the Government persisted in its purpose—the regular troops were withdrawn—the levy disbanded—and the barbarous tribes on the frontiers privileged to rob and murder without fear of hindrance or punishment from the paramount power. The political connexion with Udaypur was shortly afterwards still further relaxed by the abolition of the Residency, the communication being transferred to the Political Agent, stationed at Ajmere, in subordination to the Resident at Delhi. The tribute, which had fallen into arrears, was

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1828-35.

BOOK III. discharged;¹ but the debt incurred on account of the
 CHAP. VIII. expense of military operations against the Bhils and Gras
 1828-35. was remitted. The Raja, who in the outset of his reign had
 fallen into a course of dissipation, adopted a change
 of conduct; and by his application to business effected im-
 portant reforms in the administration of the revenue and
 the police, by which the internal tranquillity of his country
 was preserved, and border-violences were kept under some
 restraint. Little intercourse has since been held with
 Udaypur.²

The feud which we have had occasion to describe be-
 tween Man Sing and the Thakurs, who were concerned in
 his temporary deposal, and the elevation of his son, having
 apparently lost some of its virulence, the Political Resi-
 dent at Delhi was induced to interpose his good offices to
 perfect the reconciliation. At his suggestion, the Raja
 consented in 1823 to receive envoys from the chiefs, and
 to attend to their representations, promising them free
 leave to come and to return, whatever might be the result
 of the negotiations. Notwithstanding this promise, the
 Vakils were arrested when on their way to the capital—
 cast into prison—and menaced with death, upon the ac-
 cusation that they had treacherously tampered with the
 villagers in the Jagirs belonging to their masters which
 had been sequestrated, in order to accomplish their re-
 covery. As no attempt was made to substantiate the
 charge, the Resident strongly remonstrated against the
 breach of faith which had been committed, and effected
 the liberation of the envoys. This affair was scarcely
 settled, when he was appealed to by the Court of Jaypur,
 to interfere in behalf of the sister of the late Raja, who
 was married to Man Sing, and who complained of being
 treated with injustice and inhumanity. On the other
 hand, the Raja represented to the Governor-General, Lord
 Amherst, that the Resident, Sir David Ochterlony, was

¹ In 1831 the arrears of tribute amounted to Rupees 5,13,000, and the
 expenses of military operations in the hills to two lakhs; the latter was
 remitted. The tribute had been commuted from a proportion of the revenue,
 to the fixed annual sum of three lakhs; but this was complained of as press-
 ing too heavily on an income, the whole of which rarely equalled ten lakhs;
 and it has since been reduced one-half.

² It became necessary, however, in 1840, in communication with the
 Rana, to raise a Bhil corps for the purpose of keeping the tribes of Chappan in
 order, constituting the Mewar Bhil Corps, under British officers.

unduly biassed in favour of his disobedient Thakurs, and supported them in their opposition to his commands. He maintained, also, that the countenance given to the pretensions of Sirohi to independence, was a violation of his right to supremacy, and he demanded the restoration to his own officers of that portion of Mherwara, which had been taken under the British management. This district, the country of the Mhers, a wild hill and forest tribe, situated on the southern and south-western confines of Ajmere, along the frontiers of Malwa and Marwar, was, in fact, an integral portion of Ajmere, but portions were claimed by Jodhpur and Udaypur. Their sovereignty was, however, little more than nominal; for the Mhers detested the Rajputs, yielded them none but forced obedience, and retaliated for the aggressions on their independence by predatory devastations. Their proximity, and the indiscriminating nature of their outrages, rendered it necessary at an early period, after Ajmere became a British province, to curb their excesses; and an arrangement was made with the Rajput princes, by which the whole of Mherwara was placed under the superintendence of a British officer; and portions of the revenue to be collected were assigned to them respectively. Under this system the state of things soon changed. A few examples were at first necessary; but the Mhers gradually submitted to British authority, desisted from their ravages, and resorted to peaceable and agricultural avocations. A moderate assessment was imposed, and realised without difficulty, and the district made rapid advances towards prosperity.¹ To have restored it to the inefficient hands of the Rajputs would have thrown it again into disorder, fatal to its own improvement, and troublesome to its neighbours; and the application of Man Sing, as well as a similar one at a later period from the Rana, was not assented to. In order to explain to the Raja the grounds of the refusal, as well as to promote the adjustment of his disputes with his chiefs, Mr. Wilder was despatched in the beginning of

¹ The whole revenue raised in Mherwar in 1823-4, was but 10,000 rupees; in 1830-1, it amounted to 43,000 rupees. In the first three years after the settlement, the annual payments of nett revenue to Udaypur were 13,000 rupees, 17,000 rupees, and 23,000 rupees, although the seasons were unfavourable. Udaypur had never before realised any revenue whatever. In 1832, an agreement was made with the Rana for eight years' additional revenue of 10,000 rupees.

BOOK III. competitor for the throne had been set up by the chiefs,
CHAP. VIII. the case was somewhat complicated, and as the Raja's personal safety, as well as sovereign authority, was imperilled, 1828-35. he might be thought to possess some claim to interference. It was, therefore, resolved to comply with his application, on the condition that he should consent to submit his differences with his Thakurs to the arbitration of the Government, and engage to abide unhesitatingly by its decision. A cautious provision was, however, made for abandoning him to his fate, under the possible contingency of his proving the weaker party. With this view the Political Agent was apprised — that if the insurrection should be so general, as to indicate the almost universal desire of the Raja's chiefs and subjects for his deposal, and his own condition should be so helpless as to leave him without power to make head against their rebellion, then there would not appear to be any reason for undertaking to force on the state of Jodhpur, a sovereign, whose conduct had deprived him of the support and allegiance of his people. If, on the other hand, the insurrection was only partial, and the Raja continued to be supported by a respectable portion of the chiefs and the people, then the mediation was to be offered, although not as a right, as asserted by Man Sing, in virtue of the existing treaty. Native Princes were expected to have the power of controlling their own subjects; and if they drove them into rebellion, they must take the consequences: the British Government was not under any obligation to defend them in such cases. In these instructions it was assumed that rebellion was the natural result of oppression; an inference unwarranted by the past history of Rajputana, which repeatedly exhibited the feudatory chiefs of the several states combining against their sovereign for the furtherance of their private interests, or the gratification of private resentment. It was assumed also, that there existed a people with political rights and wishes, which was utterly at variance with the actual condition of affairs or the state of society; the merchants, artisans, and agriculturists of Marwar being wholly indifferent in the quarrel, and preferring tranquillity, however preserved, to the triumph of either the Thakurs or the Raja: and to consign a protected state to be desolated by the ravages of a

il war, which the slightest degree of interposition would BOOK III.
 once have prevented, was an obvious dereliction of the CHAP. VIII.
 igation which the British Government had undertaken, —————
 maintaining the peace and prosperity of Hindustan. 1828-35.
 ere was, in fact, no real difference whether hostilities
 urred between the Rajas of Jaypur and Jodhpur, or
 ween the Thakur of Pokarn and his liege lord. In
 her case, the interruption of trade, the desolation of
 e fields, the assemblage of lawless undisciplined bands,
 d indiscriminate rapine and murder, were certain to
 ue; and it was the duty of the British Government,
 the paramount power, to prevent, what it might easily
 vent, the perpetration of outrages, which tended to
 ng back the times of anarchy, which had at first com-
 led its interference with the politics of Central India.
 The intimation of the purpose of the British Govern-
 nt to mediate between Man Sing and his rebellious
 efs, was received with ready submission by them both,
 o material advantage had been gained by either, and
 hough Dhokal Sing occupied Dudhwana and threatened
 gore, he and his adherents had been unable to raise the
 ge of Ahwa by the Raja's army. Neither seemed in-
 ned to risk an encounter in the field, or was able to
 ep on foot an effective force, for want of funds to pay
 e troops. In this condition of weakness, Dhokal Sing
 s apprised that he must retire from Marwar, or he
 ould be treated as an enemy to the British Government.
 e immediately complied, and withdrew to Bhikaneer,
 pressing a hope that some provision would be made for
 n—a hope he was not allowed to retain, as no notice
 s to be taken of him in any negotiation that might be
 stituted. None was, however, opened. The proposed
 erference had impressed the contending parties with
 conciliatory disposition, and terms were settled between
 n Sing and his Thakurs by mutual agreement. The
 nfiscated lands were restored to the principal chiefs, and
 e possessions and privileges of others no longer menaced.
 ostilities consequently ceased.

The termination of actual hostilities in Marwar failed
 restore to the principality the advantage of order and
 od government. Man Sing was superstitiously devoted
 a sect of religious mendicants or Jogis, from whom he

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

chose not only his spiritual guides, but his principal counsellors, entrusting to them a large share of his revenues, and the whole charge of the administration.¹ Great abuses followed; and the hill tribes, a prey to the exactions of the fiscal officers, abandoned their villages, and turning robbers, plundered the contiguous districts. The frontier of Sirohi particularly suffered; and the ravages in that direction were secretly encouraged by Man Sing. The expostulations addressed to him were either unavailing, or provoked manifestations of sullenness and disrespect; an instance of which was displayed in his declining, upon frivolous excuses, to meet the Governor-General at Ajmere in 1831, although the Rana of Udaypur, and the young Raja of Jaypur, his equals or superiors, afforded him an example. The tribute also fell into arrears, and the urgent demand for payment made by the agent at Ajmere was not calculated to improve his temper. He was also compelled to furnish his quota of 1,500 horse to serve with a British detachment sent from the Bombay Presidency in 1833, under Colonel Litchfield, against the robber tribes of the desert of Parkur, whose depredations on Sirohi were secretly instigated by the Raja. The British troops defeated a body of the Khosas, and, advancing to Chattan and Balmer, two of the principal towns, took and destroyed them. The Jodhpur contingent not only proved useless, but were convicted of treacherously giving the Khosas private information of the movements of the force, and endeavouring to obstruct the capture of Balmer. After its capture, the leader of the Khosas was secreted by the commandant of the Jodhpur horse, who very unwillingly gave him up to the determined command of Colonel Litchfield. The capture of Balmer was a source

¹ The origin of his devotion to the Jogis, commenced with a lucky guess made by Deo-nath. When Man Sing was besieged in Jalore, and proposed to surrender, Deo-nath promised, if he would wait two or three days, he would effect a change in his position. It so happened that on the third day, his cousin Bhim Sing, then Raja of Jodhpur, died, and Man Sing was called to the succession. He ever after believed implicitly in the supernatural knowledge of the Jogis. Deonath was murdered, as described vol. ii. 179, and one cause of Man Sing's inveteracy against the chiefs, was their being implicated in the murder. His son, Ladu-nath, kept alive this feeling in the mind of the Raja. Of the revenues of Jodhpur, estimated at thirty-seven lakhs (£370,000), seven were alienated in favour of the Jogis and their temples. Ten lakhs formed the agirs of the Thakurs, leaving twenty for the Raja. The Jogis had, also, five per cent. on the revenues of the Khalsa or Crown lands, which were valued at fifteen lakhs.

FORC
of profound
cess of the
Jesselmer c
shortly after
his troops t
carrying th
ital. Oblig
Political Ag
Jesselmer w
ing with th
border distu
had not cor
untrue. Ot
gerh territo
pur; and c
allowed to
bands, affor
As this con
to the char
informed th
orders; and
puted their
prevent the
fugitives from
up a number
of the British
a degree of au
by the condu
and plundered
situated close
ed to be no l
any measure
ing the suffi
deliver up th
it was judged
means, and f
of his dominio
to military op
Ajmere after t
Brigadier Stere

¹ Consisting of three
two squadrons of His

profound vexation to Man Sing, who ascribed the suc- BOOK III.
 cess of the expedition in part to the co-operation of the CHAP. VIII.
 Jesselmer contingent which had also been called out, and
 shortly afterwards displayed his resentment, by allowing
 his troops to invade and lay waste the Jesselmer territory,
 carrying their ravages to within twelve miles of the cap-
 ital. Obligated to recall the troops by the menaces of the
 Political Agent, Man Sing denied that they had entered
 Jesselmer with any other intention than that of concert-
 ing with the Raja's officers the means of suppressing
 border disturbances, and unhesitatingly asserted that they
 had not committed any outrage; an assertion notoriously
 untrue. Other acts of violence followed on the Krishna-
 na territory, which were traced to a feudatory of Jodh-
 pur; and chiefs adhering to the party of the Raja were
 allowed to connive at the depredations of marauding
 bands, affording them an asylum, and sharing their booty.
 This conduct could not be overlooked with any regard
 to the character of the British Government, Man Sing was
 informed that he would be held responsible for these dis-
 orders, and desired to suppress them; but he either dis-
 missed their occurrence, or professed his inability to
 prevent them. He also asserted his right to shelter
 fugitives from justice, and refused to apprehend and give
 up a number of Thugs who had escaped from the pursuit
 of the British officer into the Marwar territory. To such
 a degree of audacity were the banditti of Jodhpur excited
 by the conduct of the Raja, that a strong party attacked
 and plundered the residence of a British medical officer,
 situated close to the station of Ajmere. As there appear-
 ed to be no likelihood of prevailing on Man Sing to take
 any measures for preventing these excesses, or indemnify-
 ing the sufferers; and as he pertinaciously refused to
 deliver up the malefactors who had fled into his territories,
 it was judged advisable to have recourse to more absolute
 means, and force him to acquiescence, or dispossess him
 of his dominions. It was accordingly determined to recur
 to military operations; and a force was assembled at
 Ajmere after the rains of 1834, under the command of
 Brigadier Stevenson,¹ which was destined to move against

¹ Consisting of three troops of horse, and seven companies of foot artillery,
 and squadrons of His Majesty's 11th dragoons, 2nd, 4th, 6th, and 7th regi-

BOOK III. Jodhpur. Their services were not requisite: the demon-
 CHAP. VIII. stration sufficed. A deputation of his most confidential
 1828-35. and respectable advisers was despatched by Man Sing to
 Ajmere with full powers to concede whatever was demand-
 ed.¹ The only difficulties turned upon the payment of
 the expense of the armament, which the envoys declared
 the inability of the treasury of Jodhpur to discharge; and
 the relinquishment of the privilege of protecting per-
 sons who should take refuge within the confines of the
 principality. These were, however, surmounted; and an
 agreement was concluded, by which Man Sing consented,
 1. To indemnify the people of Sirohi, Jesselmer, and Krish-
 nagerh, and Dr. Mottley, for the damages committed by
 the Jodhpur robbers. 2. To address a letter to the Go-
 vernor-General in a respectful form, expressing his regret
 for the past. 3. To give up fugitive Thugs without detri-
 ment to the general right of 'Sarana,' or protection of
 persons seeking asylum within his territory.² 4. To ad-
 mit the arbitration of British officers in regard to the
 mutual claims of Jodhpur and Sirohi for acts of border
 violence. 5. To reimburse the cost of the troops collected
 against him. 6. To furnish his contingent in a state of
 efficiency. This last condition was finally commuted to
 the payment of an annual sum which was applied to the
 maintenance of a local corps, the Marwar Legion, which,
 under British officers, has been employed to prevent dis-
 turbances and depredations on the confines of Sirohi and
 Marwar. A share of the Salt Lake and district of Samb-
 har, which appertained to Jodhpur, was taken possession
 of as security for the payment of the pecuniary demands
 upon the Raja. The subsequent transactions with Jodh-
 pur belong to a later date.

ments of cavalry, and Blair's local horse, His Majesty's 26th foot, and eleven
 regiments of Native Infantry; the 3rd, 6th, 32nd, 23rd, 28th, 32nd, 36th, and
 51st, 61st, and 69th, with siege and field trains.

¹ "What occasion could there be," inquired the Vakils, "for the march
 of an army against the Raja? a single Chaprasi (a servant wearing a badge,) sent to Jodhpur to communicate the Governor-General's pleasure, would have
 secured obedience."

² The obligation to grant protection to persons soliciting it without any
 reference to the occasion which had made them need it, is of universal recog-
 nition by the Hindus, is one of their most cherished prejudices, and is appa-
 rently of ancient date. The feeling, probably originated in a state of society,
 when there was little protection of persons, either by the laws or the govern-
 ment; and has in India, at least, survived its advantages.

The intercourse with Jaypur, through the whole period embracing the administrations of Lord Amherst and Lord W. Bentinck, was more intimate and more uneasy than that maintained with any of the leading states of Rajputana ; and after exhibiting the extremes of interference and of abstinence from interference, terminated in a catastrophe which was wholly unprecedented, and which was followed by a still closer and more authoritative connection. We have already had occasion to advert to the necessity of appointing a permanent Resident at Jaypur, arising out of the infancy of the Raja, the regency of his mother, and the conflicting pretensions of competitors for the duty of conducting public affairs. The latter had been silenced by the compulsory retirement of Jota Ram, a man of the mercantile profession, and a 'Sraogee' or Jain by religion, and the appointment of Rawal Bhyri Sal, one of the principal Thakurs of the State, and the nearest in affinity to the Raja, to the office of Mukhtar or Manager — the struggle was far from being ended.

The departure of Jota Ram from the Court of Jaypur, was followed by no diminution of his influence with the Rani ; and he kept up a constant correspondence with the Zenana, through Rupá, a Bandharin, or slave girl, who had acquired the most absolute ascendancy over the mind of the regent mother. His interests were also represented by his brother, Hookum Chand, Sraogee, who was permitted to retain the charge of the disbursements of the female apartments. To these individuals were united several of the Thakurs, the personal or political opponents of Bhyri Sal, and their joint efforts were incessantly directed to occasion embarrassment in his administration, and involve him in discredit with the British Resident. Among other intrigues, a formidable mutiny was excited among the troops ; and five battalions marched from their quarters, and occupied the city on the usual plea of requiring payment of arrears. Bhyri Sal was threatened with their vengeance, and was obliged to fly to the Residency for protection. With some difficulty, and only after troops had been ordered from the cantonments of Nasirabad, the mutineers were prevailed on to retire ; but the country was in a general state of alarm and insecurity, and a serious defalcation of the public revenue was in-

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1828-35.

BOOK III. curred, which was likely to impede the punctual payment
 CHAP. VIII. of the tribute due to the British Government.

1828-35.

As the Rani mother and her partisans attributed the public disorders and the decrease of the revenues to the incapacity and malversation of the Rawal, and insisted that the only remedy for such an unsatisfactory aspect of affairs was his removal; and as the advantages expected from his nomination had not been realised, Sir David Ochterlony recommended, in 1824, his displacement, and the formation of a new ministry, to be appointed by the Rani. The recommendation was adopted. Megh Sing, one of the Thakurs of the Rani's faction, was made Mukhtar, and Hookum Chand, Dewan, or Minister of Finance. Bhyri Sal was allowed, on submitting his accounts for audit, to retire to his Jagir of Samode, under the guarantee of the British Government for his property, his life, and his honour. He was also permitted to have a representative in regular attendance on the Resident. The new ministers were the creatures of Jota Ram and the Bandharin; and the conduct of public affairs became every day more notoriously inefficient and corrupt. Doubts began to be entertained also as to the existence of the young Raja; for, although he should have made his appearance in public, having attained his seventh year, he was still secluded in the privacy of the female apartments of the palace; and had not been seen by any of the chiefs or people for the last three years. The doubt was not confined to the popular voice. It was openly expressed to the Resident, by the Raja of Bhikaner, whose daughter was the affianced bride of the Raja of Jaypur, and who insisted on the presentation of the young Raja, if really living, to his chiefs, and the appointment of one of them as his guardian. The appearance of the Raja in public was, nevertheless, still delayed; and the Rani persisted in ascribing all the popular discontent, and the embarrassment of the finances, to the effect of Bhyri Sal's misgovernment, pressing importunately for permission being granted to Jota Ram to return to Court, as the only individual capable of restoring the affairs of Jaypur to a prosperous condition, and enabling her to discharge with regularity the tribute to the Company. Her importunities at length succeeded, and Jota Ram was allowed,

early in 1826, to return from his exile, and again exercise his personal influence over Rupá and her mistress.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.

1828-35.

The restoration of Jota Rani to power was most distasteful to many of the principal Thakurs; and they earnestly requested the interference of the Resident, to obtain their admission to the presence of their Raja. "If you were not here," they observed, "we should soon compel the Regent Rani to produce her son;" and they complained bitterly that soldiers of a tribe so distinguished as theirs, of kin to the oldest princes of Hindustan, should be subject to the orders of bankers and women. They professed their readiness to obey whatever the Resident should command. The reports of the death of the young Raja gained extensive credence; and it was affirmed, that the child having died, a Brahman boy had been secretly introduced into the Zenana, in his place, by Rupá, to personate the son of the Rani, and so prolong her regency, and that from her instrumentality in this plot, proceeded her despotic influence over her mistress. In order to put an end to these rumours, the Resident was ordered to require the Rani to state what her intentions were with regard to the production of the Raja. She consented that his public appearance should take place on his attaining his eighth year; but objected to the attendance of Bhyri Sal and the chiefs of his faction: while he claimed a right to be present, and to take precedence as the hereditary Patel¹ of the Raj. The disputes on this subject, and with respect to the Rani's right to fix the time for the Raja's appearance rose to great violence, and apprehensions were entertained of a civil war, if the chiefs with their adherents should be congregated at Jaypur. In the mean time the Rani contrived to hold an informal levee, at which the young Raja was introduced and presented to the Resident, and to a few of the chiefs who supported the party of the regent mother. The question of the continued regency of the Rani, or of the appointment of a guardian was next to be decided; and its determination was not likely to be peaceably settled, without the interposition of the British Government.

¹ The term is usually confined to the head of a village: but it was not incompatible with that of a Thakur, or military chief, indicating the primitive agricultural character of the Rajput noble.

BOOK III. Most of the Thakurs had been drawn to Jaypur by the
 CHAP. VIII. expected public appearance of the young Raja; but those
 1828-35. only of the Rani's faction were allowed to enter the city.
 Bhyri Sal and his confederates were encamped outside. The instructions of the British Government sanctioned this assemblage, and directed the Resident to take advantage of the opportunity to collect the votes of all the chiefs, with regard to the right of the Rani to retain the regency, and appoint her own Minister. Seventy-two Thakurs attended at the Residency, and the majority voted against the Rani's claims, affirming that the management of affairs should now be entrusted to a male guardian, and that the fittest person for the office was Rawal Bhyri Sal. A few days afterwards, their opinions underwent a change. The Political Resident at Delhi, Sir Charles Metcalfe, having come to Jaypur at the end of 1826, and repeated the scrutiny, found that a large majority now voted in favour of the continuation of the Regent Rani's absolute authority. No precedent existed for its cessation at any given period under maturity: nor did it appear that the usages of the Rajputs authorised any appeal to the chiefs on the subject. At a subsequent visit to the palace, where a conference was held with the Rani through the usual screen, the young Raja came from behind it, and seating himself on the knees of Sir C. Metcalfe, threw his arms round his neck, and begged for protection for himself, and support for the rights of his mother. Both parties were willing to leave the decision entirely to the British Resident, but he preferred to repeat the appeal to the chiefs, after winnowing the list and excluding those who were considered not entitled to vote. The number was thus reduced to fifty, and out of them twenty-eight voted in favour of the Rani's claims. She was guaranteed in the retention of the Regency and the privilege of nominating her officers. Rao Chand Sing was accordingly appointed Mukhtar, or Vice-Regent, and Kahan Sing commander of the forces; Hookum Chand made way for his son-in-law Prem Chand, but continued virtually minister. Jota Ram had no ostensible office, but was, in fact, Regent. A public Court was held, at which the young Raja, seated on the lap of the Resident, received the homage of all his chiefs, except

Bhyri Sal and his principal adherents, who withdrew from Court. Sir Charles Metcalfe, after visiting the Rana of Udaypur, returned to Delhi.

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.

1828-35.

The new Government was not more prosperous in its administration of affairs, than any of its predecessors. The great objects of the persons in power were to enrich themselves at the expense of the state, and to humiliate and despoil the chiefs who were opposed to them. The different factions became more inveterate in their mutual animosities; and they were only prevented from coming to open hostilities by the guarantee which the British Government had granted to the chiefs as long as they preserved their allegiance to the Raja, a guarantee which, while it balked the vindictive projects of Jota Ram, retained the Thakurs in obedience through apprehension of the forfeiture of the security by any act of violence originating with themselves. The misappropriation of the revenue produced its usual results—arrears of pay to the troops, and their consequent insubordination, oppressive exactions from the peasantry, and their abandonment of their fields for a life of robbery and murder—arrears of the tribute payable to the British Government, and threats of assuming territory for its liquidation. Jota Ram in fear of his life, which was threatened by the mutinous soldiers, was compelled to disgorge some of his ill-gotten treasure, and succeeded for a while in averting the storm. Arrangements were also made for the payment of the arrears of tribute; and its regular discharge was promised by the Rani, if the British Government would consent to the public recognition of Jota Ram as the prime minister of Jaypur. Hitherto, although he had been allowed to return to the capital and exercise the full weight of his personal influence with Rupá and the Rani, he had not been invested with any official character, in consequence of the reluctance of the Government of India to acknowledge him in a ministerial capacity. The objection was now waived, in the hope that he might be able to act with more confidence and energy when publicly responsible, and devise some remedy for the disorders of the principality.

The measures adopted by the new minister, although not inconsistent with the interests of the state, were ill-

BOOK III. calculated to allay the resentment and jealousy of the
 CHAP. VIII. Thakurs, as it was proposed to make them answerable for
 1828-35. all plunder committed by their followers—to deprive
 them of some of their hereditary offices—and to displace
 by regular garrisons the troops of the Thakurs, who
 originally occupied certain forts, having lands assigned to
 them on that account, which lands were to be resumed.
 A demand was also made upon the chiefs for a money
 contribution for the maintenance of the troops of the
 Raja; a tax which, although formerly levied, had been
 discontinued for many years. These arrangements pro-
 voked general dissatisfaction among the chiefs; and many
 of those who had supported the Rani and her minister
 now deserted her cause. Troops were raised on either
 side. The four hereditary governors of Ranthambore, a
 strong fortress jointly garrisoned by contingents of the
 chiefs, and a detachment of the royal forces, expelled the
 latter, strengthened the fortifications, and collected the
 revenues of the surrounding districts. Hookum Chand,
 with the regular battalions, was sent against the fort, and
 urgent applications were made in 1830, to the Political
 Agent, at Ajmere, for the assistance of troops to quiet
 the disturbances, under the article of the treaty which
 bound the British Government to protect the territory of
 Jaypur. As this protection was designed against external
 enemies only, the assistance was refused; and all inter-
 ference was declined beyond an intimation to the Thakurs,
 who had the benefit of the British guarantee, that if they
 failed in the performance of their prescriptive duties, the
 guarantee would be withdrawn. The parties were, in a
 great measure, left, therefore, to their own passions, the
 effects of which were speedily manifested in the general
 prevalence of disorder and tumult, and the perpetration
 of violent outrages not only within the limits of Jaypur
 but on all the surrounding districts.

The mutual weakness of the parties compelled them,
 after some idle indications of reciprocal animosity, to
 desist from hostilities, and concur in an apparent recon-
 ciliation. The privileges of the Thakurs were acknow-
 ledged; and all were admitted to favour, except Bhyri Sal,
 between whom and Jota Ram, there subsisted an unap-
 peasable hatred; and the young Raja of Khaitri, whose

Jagir the minister, taking advantage of his youth, was bent upon sequestrating. That the Raja of Jaypur had been tutored to adopt the policy of his mother's chief councillor, was evident from the tenor of his communications with the Governor-General, whom he visited when at Ajmere; and his subsequent correspondence, and that of the Rani with Lord William Bentinck, in which they earnestly pressed the annulment of the guarantee, and the exclusion of the Vakils, or agents of the Chiefs, from access to the Political Agent. These requests were refused; but the Raja was assured that no interference would be exercised with the internal administration of his principality, beyond the specific instances in which a guarantee had been granted; and that such security would be considered as cancelled by any disregard of the obligations, which, according to the usages of the Raj, were incumbent on its feudatories. Putting his own interpretation on these concessions, Jota Ram shortly afterwards levied a powerful army; and, under pretence of enforcing the military contribution due by the Thakurs, and restoring order in the Shekhawati country, in which Khairi was situated, despatched it against the latter: menacing at the same time Samode, the Jagir of Bhyri Sal, who was accused of having employed assassins to murder the minister; and Chamura, the estate of one of the sons of Bhyri Sal, who had been adopted by the former chief, and had succeeded in virtue of that adoption, which the minister pretended to regard as invalid. Although informed that these aggressions would not be permitted by the British Government, as the Jagirs in question were under its protection, and desired to recall his troops, it was not until he was threatened with an advance of a British force that he consented to remove them from the menaced districts. The accusation against Bhyri Sal, of having employed hired assassins to destroy Jota Ram, was made the subject of a special investigation, by Captain Spiers, who was sent for the purpose to Jaypur, and was proved to be utterly without foundation: all proceedings against the Rawal were, therefore, positively interdicted.

The malevolence of Jota Ram having been frustrated of the object which he had endeavoured to accomplish by force of arms and by false accusations, he resorted to

BOOK III. other expedients, and attempted to substantiate claims
 CHAP. VIII. against Bhyri Sal to a ruinous amount for the arrears of
 1828-35. the military contribution, to which the Rawal denied that he had ever been liable. The representations of both parties were submitted, through the Political Agent to the Governor-General. Those of the Raja and the Rani, evidently under the dictation of the Minister, were couched in the most intemperate language; accusing the agent of partiality and corruption; and intimating a want of reliance on the injustice and impartiality of the Governor-General himself. For this style of communication they were reprimanded, and the Raja was obliged to offer an imperfect apology. At this period, early in 1834, the Rani regent died; and it was announced that the Raja was now of sufficiently mature age to undertake the personal conduct of the administration. Jota Ram, however, continued to retain his ascendancy, and to persist in his vindictive projects against Bhyri Sal and his friends. Their execution was suspended by the alarm occasioned by the assemblage of a force at Ajmere, although collected without any hostile intention towards Jaypur.

The force assembled at Ajmere was at first intended, as we have seen, to march against Jodhpur: but when its movements in that direction were arrested by the timely submission of Man Sing, the next object of its employment was the subjugation of the robber chiefs of Shekhawati, who for some years past had infested the territories on their confines with predatory incursions, and had latterly committed daring acts of outrage upon the subjects and dependants of the British Government. Nominally feudatories of Jaypur, the chiefs of Shekhawati paid no regard to the injunctions of the court; and confiding in the strength of their forts, and the desert aridity of their soil, pursued a reckless career of insubordination and rapine. As the Jaypur Government was either unable or unwilling to put down the Shekhawati plunderers, the task was undertaken by the Government of India, and a part of the Ajmere force was directed to march against them.¹

The division entered the Shekhawati country at the

¹ Consisting of two regiments of Cavalry, the 4th and 7th, and the 3rd Local Horse, six regiments of N.I., two troops of Horse, and five companies of Foot Artillery, with Sappers and Miners.

end of November, 1834; and was met by the Sikhar Raja, one of the most powerful of the Thakurs, who placed himself and his town at the disposal of the British Agent. His example was followed by the other chiefs; and their forts were given up without resistance. On advancing to the north, a detachment of Local Horse, commanded by Lieutenant Forster, encountered some opposition in attempting to apprehend Sujawal Khan, one of the most notorious of the plundering chiefs; but the Shekhawatis were defeated and their leader was secured. The different strongholds in this part of the country were also occupied; and such as had been the haunts of the banditti were dismantled. After the accomplishment of these duties, the army was broken up, a small detachment only being left in the province until a contingent force, to be raised in the country from among the feudatory tribes, known as Larkhanis, Bidawats, Barantias, and by other designations, and placed under British officers, could be organised. The country was retained, and the tributes due to Jaypur transferred to the British authorities; and the portion of the Sambhar Salt Lake and district belonging to Jaypur was also occupied until the cost of the expedition should be reimbursed. The more respectable chiefs professed to be well-pleased with the change of rule; but the whole transaction gave great offence to Jaypur. At an early stage of the proceedings, Jota Ram had repaired to Ajmere, where he had expostulated against the expedition as unnecessary, engaging to prevent the repetition of the excesses of the Shekhawatis. When he found that his inclination or ability to effect the object was doubted, he requested permission to accompany the force; but his presence was thought more likely to embarrass than to facilitate communication with the chiefs, and his request was declined. On his return to Jaypur, he counselled the Raja to protest against the occupation of the Shekhawati district and the Sambhar lake, or to be made responsible for the military charges; and the disregard shewn to his wishes was attributed to the private enmity which the Political Agent, now Major Alves, was accused of entertaining against the Minister. Strong suspicions were suggested of the motives of Jota Ram's anxiety concerning the Shekhawati expedition; and there were good reasons

BOOK III. to infer his participation in the booty of the plunderers.
CHAP. VIII. A general rumour also prevailed, that the Raja was held
1828-35. in a state of restraint which left him no longer a free agent; and a still more serious charge against the Minister was shortly afterwards current.

Soon after the dispersion of the Shekhawati field force, or in February, 1835, the Raja of Jaypur died. His death was sudden. No previous indisposition had been heard of; and an almost universal opinion was current that his end had been accelerated by the machinations of Jota Ram and Rupá Bandharin, in order to prolong their ascendancy during the minority of the infant son of the Raja. The popular belief that the Raja had been poisoned was publicly manifested when the body was carried to be buried; and the attempts to silence the demonstration occasioned an affray, in which several lives were lost. Jota Ram professed his anxiety to resign his authority, and suggested that the British Government should take the administration upon itself. His sincerity was questionable, for he was known to be engaged in active intrigues to gain partizans; and a letter was pretended to have been received by him from the mother of the infant, imploring him to remain to watch over the interests of her son. Although conceiving that a present investigation of the charges against Jota Ram and Rupá would not be likely to lead to any satisfactory result, the Government admitted that the universality of the belief was a sufficient reason for their removal. The resignation of the former was accepted; the latter was desired to leave the palace. The guardianship of the infant Raja was undertaken by the British Government; and the Political Agent was directed to repair to Jaypur, and concert with the principal chiefs the arrangements to be adopted. Agreeably to these resolutions, Major Alves went to Jaypur, where his timely arrival prevented a threatened tumult and affray. Many of the Thakurs, with their armed retainers, were in the city. Jota Ram's adherents were also numerous: his mercenary troops had command of the palace, and the people were in a state of violent agitation. After consulting with Bhyri Sal and the other chiefs, it was determined that the personal charge of the infant Raja should remain with the mother; but that the administration should be

intrusted to a council of the principal chiefs under the presidency of Bhyri Sal, and in communication with the Political Agent. Jota Ram was sent off to Deosar, about thirty miles from Jaypur; and Rupá was conveyed to a residence in the town, where a guard of British Sipahis was required to protect her from the fury of the mob. The council of Regency was formed; and notwithstanding the intrigues of a party to obtain power by instigating the mother of the Raja to lay claim to the Regency, the new government was apparently in the course of acquiring consolidation and efficiency, when its labours were interrupted by an unexpected and alarming disturbance, attended with an attempt upon the life of the Resident and the murder of Mr. Blake, his assistant, and of several of the native servants of the Residency. BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1828-35.

On the 4th of June, the Resident, attended by Mr. Blake, Lieutenant Ludlow, and Cornet Macnaghten, had an interview with the Rani mother and the Thakurs, at the palace. As the party quitted the palace, Major Alves, when mounting his elephant, was attacked by a man from among the bystanders, armed with a sword, by whom he was severely wounded. The assassin was seized: the Resident, whose wounds were not mortal, was placed in a palankin, and accompanied by Lieut. Ludlow and Cornet Macnaghten, conveyed to the Residency. They met with neither insult nor molestation as they passed through the city, nor did Mr. Macnaghten, who returned to the palace, encounter any obstruction. Having recommended Mr. Blake to leave the assassin, who had been well secured, in charge of the guard, Mr. Macnaghten again quitted the courtyard to rejoin the Resident, and upon his issuing from the gateway, was assailed with all kinds of missiles from the mob outside, from which he escaped with difficulty. The tumult was confined, however, to the immediate vicinity of the palace, and other parts of the town presented no appearance of excitement. Reports had been insidiously spread among the crowd, who had assembled about the palace gates, that some undefined act of violence had been perpetrated by the British Resident, and the ferment thus excited was aggravated by the appearance of Mr. Blake, who held in his hand the blood-stained sword of the assassin. As he left the palace on his elephant a number

BOOK III. of armed men, chiefly Minas, joined by the mob, attacked
CHAP. VIII. him, and endeavoured to hamstring the elephant or climb
up into the howda. Stones and spears were also thrown
1828-35. at him, and finding it would be impossible to make his
way alive through the furious multitude, he stopped at a
temple, and with one attendant chaprasi, and the driver of
the elephant, entered it through a window, as the doors
were closed. Two persons in the temple conducted the
party to a small chamber and shut the doors, endeavouring
to provide for their safety ; but the mob forced their way
in, and while some of them burst open the doors, others
ascended the roof, and breaking through it hurled various
missiles upon the fugitives. Mr. Blake then attempted to
quit the chamber, but was cut down as soon as he left it.
The chaprasi was also killed. The elephant driver was
saved. The body of Mr. Blake was cast into the streets,
but was recovered on the following day, and sent to the
Residency by the Rawal, who, although somewhat tardy in
his exertions, succeeded in suppressing this tumult with-
out much difficulty. The chiefs at Jaypur united in
expressing their regret and indignation, and their deter-
mination to punish all concerned in the outrage. Several
of the most active in the affray were accordingly appre-
hended and sentenced to death ; and a minute investigation
was instituted with regard to the origin and instigators of
the crime. From the depositions of the assassin and
of another miscreant who had led the attack on Mr. Blake,
with other collateral and documentary evidence, the insti-
gation of the crime was traced to a knot of Jain bankers
of Jaypur, partisans of Jota Ram, and acting under his
suggestions and those of his brother and nephew, Hookum
Chand and Futteh Lal. The main object of the plot was
to embroil Bhyri Sal with the British Government ; and
the murder of the British Resident was to be perpetrated
with the design, either of its being imputed to the treachery
of the Thakur, or to establish his incapacity for the office
with which he was invested, and his inability to maintain
order in Jaypur. The popular tumult which followed the
assault upon the Resident and led to the murder of Mr.
Blake, was in some measure the work of the emissaries of
the conspirators ; but it arose in a still greater degree from
the contagious influence of causeless agitation upon a tur-

bulent crowd, many of whom carried arms, and from a mixed feeling of fear and hatred of Europeans. The excitement was, however, the work of the moment. The city in general had remained tranquil; and the tumult round the palace was allayed by the very first efforts of the authorities for its suppression. No demonstration whatever was made by any class of the people in favour of those who were apprehended and condemned; and they all paid the full penalty of their crimes by the sentence of a native tribunal of the principal Thakurs. Death was inflicted on those who had been convicted of being personally engaged in instigating the murder of the Resident or in perpetrating the death of Mr. Blake. Jota Ram and his brother were sentenced to the same fate, but the sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life in the British territory. Other subordinate agents were imprisoned for various periods. A military detachment was ordered from Navinabad for the protection of the Resident and the Regency, but its services were not needed, and it was recalled. The presence of the Political Agent was felt to be essential to the efficiency of the native government, and he was continued at Jaypur. At a subsequent period, it became necessary to appoint a permanent Resident, and to place the Council of Regency under his immediate protection. Such being the termination of the long-continued and mischievous policy of holding back from interference with the internal government of Jaypur, and leaving it to the uncontrolled will of a weak and vicious woman and an unprincipled and profligate minister.

The secondary states of Rajputana suffered in various degrees from the same undecided policy; and during its operation were subjected to internal disorder and external aggression. The disputes between the Raja of Krishnagerh and his feudatories, which ended in his abdication, have been already adverted to, and they were not quieted until they had exposed the bordering districts, including that of Ajmere, to be ravaged by the lawless bands of mercenaries who were enlisted on either side, and who, ill-paid and insubordinate, supported themselves by undistinguishing plunder. The petty states of Dungarpur, Banswara, and Pertabgerh, as long as they were under the direction of British officers, subject to the authority of

BOOK III.
CHAP. VIII.
1828-31.

BOOK III. the Resident at Indore, enjoyed internal tranquillity, and
 CHAP. VIII. were gradually advancing in prosperity ; when the discontinuance of the separate agencies, and the relaxation of
 1828-35. British control over the misrule of their princes, again subjected them to the depredations of the neighbouring forest tribes of Bhils and Minas, and the contumacious conduct of their dependant chiefs ; the immediate effects of which were the diminution of the revenues, and the arrears and ultimate reduction of the tributes. The state of Sirohi, which had been reduced to extreme wretchedness by the aggressions of its neighbours and the imbecility of its rulers, was, in like manner, recovering from its depression, when the removal of the Political Agent, who was directed to station himself at Nimuch, in the general charge of the affairs of Sirohi, Banswara, Dungarpur, and Pertabgerh, and who could no longer, therefore, exercise an immediate personal influence over the proceedings of the Rao, threw the principality back into its former state of disorganization. As much of the mischief resulted from the depredations committed on the frontier by the plunderers from Marwar, they were in some degree checked by the military demonstration against Man Sing ; but the nature of the country, the habits of the people, and the feebleness of Sirohi, still continued to encourage aggression ; and the Government was obliged to admit that it was necessary to take more effectual measures to put a stop to the system of outrage which prevailed, and protect the valuable trade which passed between Guzerat and Pali, in Marwar, across the Sirohi country. With this view, one of the military assistants of the Political Agent, was stationed on the frontier, in command of a detachment of the Jodhpur contingent, and afterwards of the Jodhpur Legion under British officers. An arrangement which effectually provided for the security of the frontiers. In Jesselmer and Bhikaner, interference had, at an early date, been exerted to repress internal dissensions, and although the practice was discontinued, the good effects in part subsisted, and no serious interruption of tranquillity arose from disputes between the rulers and their feudatories. Border quarrels, however, occurred, in consequence of which, an army was sent by the Raja of Bhikaner, to retaliate for outrages committed by the subjects of Jes-

selmer, and a military invasion of the same country followed mutual frontier aggressions on the part of Bahawalpur. The forces of the latter were, however, spontaneously recalled by the Nawab, in consequence of alarming movements of the Sikhs, threatening the invasion of his territory; and the Bhikaner troops were withdrawn by the desire of the British Government, as their employment was a palpable violation of international tranquillity. As the necessity of more active interposition began once more to be experienced, a British officer, Captain Trevelyan, was deputed to bring the disputes between these Rajput Princes to an amicable-termination.¹ The resolute tone with which Man Sing had been intimidated into submission—the display of military strength in the Shekhawati country—the virtual assumption of the administration of Jaypur—and the authority now exercised to enforce the maintenance of peace between contending princes—all of them departures from the principle of non-interference, were attended with the most beneficial consequences, redeeming the British Government from the charge of indifference to the best interests of the native states, and affording the only security for the perpetuation of order and the promotion of prosperity in Hindustan; reliance on the will, as well as on the power, of the paramount state to repress public violence and punish political delinquency.

A few months prior to the catastrophe at Jaypur, Lord William Bentinck had resigned his high office, and departed from India. For his management of the relations with the native states, and the mischievous consequences by which it had been succeeded, he was less responsible than the superior authorities in England, whose orders it was a principle of his administration implicitly to obey. The more vigorous measures subsequently adopted, although forced upon him by circumstances, were more entirely his own, and were entitled to the merit of decision, and adaptation to the necessities of the native principalities. The attention of Lord W. Bentinck had, however, been more especially directed towards the improvement of the Com-

¹ The objects of the mission were completely effected. — See Personal Narrative of a Tour through the Western States of Rajwara in 1835, by Lieut. A. H. E. Boileau, Calcutta. 1837.

BOOK III. pany's possessions ; and, although some of his proceedings
 CHAP. VIII. might have been of questionable expediency, their general
 1828-35. tenor was eminently conducive to the present and prospective amelioration of British India. He diminished the burthens, and augmented the resources of the Government ; placed in the course of equitable and beneficial adjustment the revenues of the Western Provinces ; afforded liberal encouragement to both European and native industry ; promoted the extension of the education of the natives ; released them from the trammels of one of their most debasing superstitions : freed them from the scourge of one of the most desperate races of miscreants who preyed upon their domestic intercourse, and brought them forward cheerfully and cordially into public situations of trust and respectability, from which they had too long been excluded. His instrumentality in effecting the military retrenchments, ordered by the Home authorities, and a disposition which he occasionally manifested, to mistrust the integrity of the public servants, drew down upon him at first extensive unpopularity ; but this seems to have been dissipated before the general persuasion that he was actuated by a sincere desire to promote the advancement of British India in civilisation and prosperity, and by a firm conviction that this great end was to be mainly effected by the diligent and upright discharge of the duties imposed on the servants of the Company, not for their own benefit, but for the good government and happiness of the vast population over whom they were placed in authority. In his earnestness to excite and encourage their perseverance in this honourable career, he may have sometimes been too regardless of individual feelings ; but his purpose was as much to uphold the credit and efficiency of the European officers of the state, as to secure the welfare of its native subjects, 2
 He was not unsuccessful in either of these objects ; and a dispassionate retrospect of the results of his government will assign to Lord William Bentinck an honourable place amongst the statesmen who have been intrusted with the delegated sovereignty over the British Empire in the East.

CHAPTER IX.

Proceedings in England.—Termination of the Company's Charter.—Select Committee of both Houses in Parliament.—Parliament dissolved.—Committee of House of Commons appointed.—Intercepted and renewed.—appointed for the fourth time.—divided into Sub-Committees.—Reports submitted.—Questions at issue.—Monopoly of China Trade.—Objections to its Continuance.—reply to. Correspondence between the Court of Directors and the Ministers.—Paper ofHints.—Government of India to be left to the Company.—Objections of the Court.—Necessity of Guarantees for the Government of India.—Payment of Territorial Charges in England dependant on Proceeds of Trade.—Deficiency of Revenue made good in part by Commercial Profits.—Reply of Mr. Grant.—Property of the Company to be transferred to Territory, and Dividends to be charged to it.—Objections of the Court.—Demand Securities.—Immunized Liabilities of Assets.—Qualified Assent of the Court.—Supplication for a Guarantee Fund, and for Liberty to appeal to Parliament.—objected to.—Question referred to Proprietors.—Proceedings of General Courts.—Resolutions proposed.—Amendment.—carried by Ballot.—communicated to Ministers.—consent to modify the Treaty.—still objected to by the Court.—Ministers persist, and the Court submit.—Dissent of the Chair.—Arrangements agreed to by the Proprietors.—submitted to Parliament.—Pecuniary Claims on Natives of India.—Claims of Bankers on the King of Oude.—Interference declined by the Court.—required by the Board.—Mandamus applied for.—not persisted in.—Claims on the Zemindar of Nozid.—disallowed by the Court.—adopted in Parliament.—Act passed in favour.—Claims of Mr. Hutchins.—submitted to Parliament.—rejected.—Renewal of Charter brought before Parliament.—Observations of Mr. Grant.—Measures proposed.—Remarks of Mr. Wyon and Mr. Buckingham.—Resolutions passed and communicated to the House of Lords.—Opposition of Lord Ellenborough and Duke of Wellington.—Clauses of Bill discussed in both Houses.—communicated to the Court of Directors.—Objections of Court to a Change in

the Constitution of the Indian Government,—to a fourth Presidency,—to Abolition of Subordinate Councils,—to additional Member of Council,—to Increase of Ecclesiastical Establishment,—and to Alteration in appointment of Civilians.—Petitions against the Bill,—not received in either House of Parliament.—Bill passed the House of Commons.—Recommendation of the Court of Proprietors to acquiesce.—Dissent of Chairs.—Motives for its Adoption.—General Court determine by Ballot to accept the Bill.—Bill passed into a Law.—Termination of Company's Commercial Existence.—Concluding Remarks.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

1826.

THE proceedings of the Houses of Parliament and the Court of Proprietors during the early years of the period that has been reviewed, exercised no material influence on the substantial interests of British India. The disposition evinced by Lord Amherst at the commencement of his administration, to adopt the views of his predecessor with regard to the restrictions imposed on the public press, a disposition which, however, was soon laid aside, excited the hostility of a small party amongst the proprietors, and provoked them to bring forward inculpatory motions suggestive of his recall. The unpropitious opening of the war with Ava, supplied materials for plausible denunciation for a season, but the improved progress of the armies, and the final humiliation of the enemy, with the capture of Bhurtpore, imposed silence on the cavillers, and converted the proposed votes of censure into an almost unanimous tribute of approbation. This result has been already noticed; and nothing further of any importance occurred, until it became necessary for the Legislature to take into consideration the question of continuing for a further period, the privileges and political functions of the East India Company.

The right of exclusive trade with India, had been withdrawn from the Company on the last renewal of the Charter; but they had still continued to carry on a limited import from India, chiefly in silk and saltpetre, for the purpose of effecting remittances to provide for charges in England; and an export trade through India, principally of cotton to China, to assist in providing funds for the purchase of their investments of tea at Canton. The

amount of their export trade to India had long been BOOK III.
inconsiderable, and the trade had latterly ceased altogether, CHAP IX.
so that the Company might be regarded as no longer connected with India by commercial relations. The trade had fallen entirely into the hands of the manufacturers and merchants of Great Britain; and they now looked with confidence to a like transfer of the traffic with China to free mercantile competition. The Company's charter expired in 1834. In 1829, petitions from the principal manufacturing and commercial towns, were presented to both houses of Parliament against its renewal, and a motion was made by Mr. Whitmore, in the House of Commons, for a Select Committee to investigate the subject. The nomination of the Committee was postponed till the ensuing session, when the ministers undertook to recommend its appointment; and accordingly, early in February, 1830, Select Committees were agreed to in either house, upon the motion of Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, in the House of Lords; and of Sir Robert Peel, Secretary of State, in the House of Commons. In proposing the formation of the Committees, the ministers carefully abstained from the expression of any opinion with regard to the renewal of the Charter, or from pointing out any modification which might be made in the existing system by which India was governed. It was their wish to leave the question to the calm and dispassionate judgment of the Parliament formed upon a deliberate consideration of the information which it would be the business of the Committees to collect; and upon which it would become their duty to report. The inquiry imposed upon the Legislature higher obligations than almost any other in the whole sphere of public affairs. The question, however important to the commerce of the Empire, was not confined to commercial interests: it involved the whole character of the Government of India, the mode in which it might best be administered for the prosperity and happiness of the people, the reputation of the Legislature, and the dignity and rights of the Crown. Some objections were taken to the comprehensive character of the inquiries to be instituted by the Committee; and some doubt was expressed whether the consideration of the constitution of the

1829.

BOOK III. computation of profits, the sale-price of the article would
 CHAP. IX. be reduced to a level with that which was paid in the
 1832. markets of the Continent, and of America; and teas of good quality would be brought within the reach of every order of the population; the demand would consequently be proportionably augmented, while the comforts of the poorer classes would be materially befriended. There was another point of view, in which important advantages might be anticipated from throwing open the trade to individual enterprise, and the same result which had followed the opening of the commerce with India, a vast extension of British exports, might be confidently predicted. The Company's exports to China had always been of limited value, and had latterly even declined; but looking to the immense population, and the wealth of China, and the inferiority of its manufactures, it was wholly inconceivable that the country should offer so insignificant a market for the cottons and woollens of Manchester and Glasgow, or the hardware of Birmingham and Sheffield. The deficiency was imputed not to the absence of consumers, but to the inertness of the Company; and when their obstructive interposition should be abolished, the commerce of Great Britain would, no doubt, exhibit, in respect to China, the same elasticity which it had manifested in every other region where it laboured under no artificial compression. The distress which prevailed in England, and the difficulties to which trade and manufactures had for some time past been exposed, also urgently called for the alterations which new and improved channels of export could alone provide; and no quarter of the globe presented so novel and promising a field as the vast and opulent empire of China.

To these assertions, it was replied; that it was not true that the prices of tea in Great Britain were enhanced beyond their natural amount by the establishments of the Company, the expense of which bore an inconsiderable ratio to the total value of the trade;—and that, if the prices in foreign markets were lower than those in Great

¹ It was asserted that the whole expenses of the factory amounted to but three per cent. on the value of the goods produced; the commission of private agents was five per cent.

Britain, it was because the teas were of a quality greatly inferior, the steady and valuable connection of the Company with the merchants in China, and the influence exercised by the supercargoes, securing them the preference of purchasing at a more favourable rate, and the experience of their qualified officers assuring a judicious selection. The profits of the Company on their sales of tea were grossly overrated, and the Company were not responsible for any extravagant augmentation of the sale-prices, as they were compelled to put up their teas at the cost-price, with an allowance for charges and interest of outlay, and to sell upon an advance of one penny in the pound. All additions to the up-set price rested with the purchasers at their public sales; and in truth, instead of a hundred per cent, their profits, in some years, had not exceeded six:¹ there was little prospect of a material diminution of the cost-price, for the trade in China was a monopoly, traffic in all the most valuable commodities — tea, raw silk, woollens, and cotton — being reserved by law to a corporation, or Hong, consisting of a few merchants, to whom the China Government restricted trade with foreigners; and, as private merchants would not have the same power of resisting their combination as that which was exercised by the Company, they would be exposed to any degree of extortion in the purchase of the teas which the Hong merchants might inflict. It was very unlikely, therefore, that the selling-price would be much reduced, although very inferior kinds of tea would be imported. A fluctuation of prices might be also anticipated, which was now guarded against by the condition of the Charter, which made it imperative on the Company to have always on hand, over and above the quantities in transit or in course

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.
1832.

¹ Report of Committee of House of Commons, 1830. Evidence. This, however, was in a very unfavourable season. The average annual profits of the Company on their China trade for the last fifteen years, from 1814-15 to 1828-9, had exceeded a million sterling, being 15,414,000*l.* — *Ibid.* 5875. According to the assertion of one witness, Mr. Rickards, the profits of the China Trade were inadequate to defray the interest on the bond debt in England and the dividends of the proprietors. — Evidence. Comm. House of Commons, 1830. 3435 *a.* and 3764 *a.* But these statements were shown clearly to be erroneous; by counter statements submitted by Mr. Melvill. — *Ibid.* 4375. 5875. The Report of Mr. Pennington, an accountant employed to revise the Company's accounts, shows a profit on their whole commercial transactions in fifteen years of 20,488,000*l.*

BOOK III. of sale, a stock sufficient for one year's consumption—
CHAP. IX. a stipulation to which private importers could not be

1832.

subjected; and they would be alone guided by their own interested views in proportioning the supply to the demand—occasioning at one time a scarcity, at another a superabundance, to the great inconvenience and detriment of the consumers. In fact, there was great danger of a total deficiency of supply. The policy of the Chinese Government had always been averse to foreign trade and to foreigners; and although aware of the advantages derived from the intercourse, might be disposed, if offended by the misconduct of the traders or ships' crews, to close the port of Canton, as had been done in regard to other ports in China, to foreign commerce. The local authorities were interested in the continuance of the trade; but they were notorious for their arrogance and cupidity, and had been only deterred from a system of insulting and vexatious extortions, under which the trade must have languished or expired, by the firm, calm, and judicious conduct of the Company's servants. The beneficial effects of their interposition had given shelter and security to private trade; and European and American merchants settled at Canton were protected from Chinese intolerance by the presence of the Company's factory. If that were withdrawn, and private merchants visited Canton without some such protection, they would be helpless against the course of contumely and exaction which they would have to undergo, and which must prove fatal to commercial intercourse. The same disinclination to foster foreign commerce would not fail to check the introduction of British goods, even if the demand for them should exist; a fact which was rendered highly problematical by the continued importation into China of Bullion in preference to merchandise. The Americans, who were influenced by no other principle than mercantile advantage, were at liberty to provide goods to any extent for the purchase of their investments, but their importation of dollars gave reason to infer the unprofitableness of any other medium of exchange. The trade with India, admitting that it had extended as greatly as had been asserted, although much exaggeration on the subject prevailed, offered no analogy to the trade with China, from a very

obvious consideration. The trade with India was entirely under the control of the British Government—a government interested in giving it every possible facility, and promoting its extension. The government of China was beyond all kind of control, except perhaps that of force, which was not likely to be employed; and it had always avowed and acted upon principles inimical to commercial intercourse with strangers. Under such circumstances, it was not to be expected that China would become a market for British manufactures to any considerable extent; and the anticipations of those who looked forward so confidently to its unlimited demand, could only lead to disappointment, and might terminate in ruin.

BOOK III.

CHAP. IX.

1832.

Whatever truth there might have been in the arguments on either side, and as usual in all keenly controverted questions, there was a mixture of fact and fallacy in both, it was felt to be impossible to resist the clamours of the manufacturing and commercial classes. One of the cyclical periods of depression, the infallible consequences of the excess of productive power over all possible consumption, had recently returned, and the over-production and the over-trading of a season of demand, had been followed as usual by the recurrence of stagnation and distress. However engendered, the mischief demanded remedial measures; and none were so calculated to re-animate speculation and re-employ labour, as the prospect of a new inexhaustible market in the admission of the public to the trade with China. On this point, the change of administration made no difference. The general intimation that had been given to the Court of Directors by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Ellenborough, at the close of 1830, was repeated still more specifically by Earl Grey and Mr. Charles Grant, at the end of 1832. The first article of the plan proposed to the Court, under the modest denomination of a Paper of Hints, was "the China Monopoly to cease;" and little opposition was made to the proposition by the Court. They contented themselves with suggesting that the throwing open of the China trade might be eminently detrimental to Great Britain, by removing the beneficial influence of the Company's Factory, by causing a deterioration in the

BOOK III. quality of the teas imported, and by seriously interfering
 CHAP. IX. with a large revenue levied under the existing system
 1832. with perfect equality to all classes of consumers, and with
 incomparable regularity and cheapness to the State.¹ They
 also expressed their doubts if any material reduction of
 price would be effected, as the augmented charge of col-
 lecting the duty would be an additional tax upon the
 consumers; and they questioned, for the reasons as-
 signed above, the supposed advantages of an open trade
 in affording new marts for British manufactures. They,
 however, were conscious of the inutility of attempting
 to stem the current of public opinion, and only stipulated
 for a period sufficiently protracted to allow of their dispo-
 sal of the stock which they were obliged by statute to have
 on hand.

The second great question—the administration of the
 Government of India by the East India Company—was
 too exclusively a matter of interest to India to excite
 much attention in England; and the Ministers were evi-
 dently unprepared to take the office into their own hands.
 The principle was, therefore, at once admitted; and the
 second article of the “Paper of Hints” proposed that the
 East India Company should retain their political functions.
 The mode in which these functions were to be exercised,
 was to continue in all essential respects unaltered; and
 the powers of the Court, and their relations with the India
 Board, were to remain the same with certain modifica-
 tions. In reply, the Court professed their readiness to
 recommend to the Proprietors to consent to be continued
 as a useful instrument in the execution of an important
 national trust, provided the means were insured to them,
 by which they might be enabled to administer the Go-
 vernment of India, consistently with their own character,
 and with the benefit of India and of the United Kingdom;
 although at the same time they expressed their doubt of
 the practicability of accomplishing these objects, if the
 Company were deprived of their commercial character:
 the means of remittance supplied by their investments
 being indispensably necessary to provide funds in England

¹ The average amount of the annual duty was about 3,300,000*l.* annually collected by the Company, most economically, the whole charge to the Crown being less than 10,000*l.* a year. Report Commons' Committee, 1830, p. 33.

for disbursements made at home on account of political charges in India; and the surplus profits of their commerce with China being equally indispensable to make good the deficiencies that had always prevailed, and were still likely to prevail in the territorial revenues of India.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

1832.

The payments annually made in England,¹ which were considered as territorial charges, had for some years averaged about three millions sterling, of which nearly one million was incurred in the discharge of the principal and interest of the Indian debt, and constituted no additional burthen on the revenues. Provision, however, for the whole had to be made by funds remitted from India, and this had been most readily and economically effected by the appropriation of the requisite sums in India to the purchase of goods in India and China, and the realisation of their proceeds in England?² Deprived of these resources, the Company would have to depend upon the purchase of private bills or remittances of bullion, the former of which would be attended with uncertainty and risk, and might expose the Company to an enhancement of the price of the bills beyond their value in exchange, by a combination on the part of the merchants; and the latter would be liable to create inconvenience and pecuniary distress in India.

A still more important consideration was the mode of providing for the deficit of the revenues of India, which had constantly occurred upon a term of years; and which had been only partly made up by the loans raised by the Government. The average annual excess of the charges abroad and at home, had been, for the last five years,

¹ Consisting of payments made on account of passage of military; pay to officers, including off-reckonings; political freight and demurrage; pay-office demands for King's troops serving in India; retiring pay; pensioners, etc. etc. King's troops; civil, annual, and absentee allowances; political charges generally, including the proportion of charge for the establishments at the India House, Board of Control, Haileybury, Addiscombe, Chatham, etc.; miscellaneous expenses on account of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, etc.; territorial stores; charges at St. Helena; advance to Public Institutions repayable in India, etc.—Report, Committee, House of Commons, 1832. Finance Report of House of Lords, 1830. App. Accounts from 1814-5, to 1828-9.

² From 1814-5, to 1826-7, the application of Territorial Funds to the purchase of investments for remittance, averaged 2,028,000*l.* of which, 1,155,000*l.*, were applied to the purchase of Indian investments, and 873,000*l.* to the investments in China. Whatever further sums were necessary, were mainly derived from the profits of the China trade, and advanced to Territory.—Report Comm. House of Commons, 1832. Finance.

BOOK III, ending in 1828-9, 2,878,000*l.*, and no material reduction
 CHAP. IX, was anticipated. On the contrary, a further deficiency
 1832. was apprehended.¹ The whole excess of charge from
 1814-15, to 1828-9, including miscellaneous outgoings,
 something less than one million, amounted to 19,400,000*l.*,
 of which there had been raised by borrowing 14,642,000*l.*;
 the rest had been furnished by the direct application of
 surplus commercial profits, to the extent of 4,762,000*l.*, or
 above one fourth of the deficiency.² Before, therefore, the
 company could undertake to conduct the administration
 of the government of India, it would be indispensably ne-
 cessary that they should be secured in the regular supply
 of funds to defray the territorial payments to be made on
 account of India in England.

In reply to the first of these difficulties, it was stated by
 mercantile men and capitalists, who were called in evi-
 dence, that no apprehension need be entertained as to the
 remittances requisite for the discharge of territorial pay-
 ments in England. The amount of the trade now carried
 on by the Company being transferred to private merchants,
 would afford facilities to the same extent as those already
 possessed; and bills on England would be always obtain-
 able in India and China for the funds which the excess of
 exports from both countries to Great Britain over the
 value of imports from it would require. The value of the
 commerce, and the extent to which it would probably be
 carried, would be more likely to produce competition than
 combination; and bills, except under unusual circum-
 stances, would be obtainable at a rate of exchange, not ex-
 ceeding the bullion value of the rupee. Should that be

¹ Estimated as likely to exceed in 1844, the deficit of 1828-9, by 827,000*l.*—
 Third Report of Committee of House of Commons, 1831. Accounts and Papers,
 No. 6. Other computations made it range from rather more than a million to
 little more than one hundred thousand pounds.—Comm. Report, House of
 Commons, 1832. App. 23.

² Statement, Report Committee House of Commons, 1832. Finance. The
 sum obtained from Commerce is there stated, as well as in the evidence of Mr.
 Lloyd, Report, House of Lords, 1830, at 4,923,000*l.* The difference is an in-
 crease of assets of 161,000*l.* According to the Statement of the Committee of
 Correspondence of the Court of Directors, unsupported however, by any
 figured documents, if the Company had not derived resources from the China
 trade, the public debt of India would have been upwards of seventeen millions
 sterling more than it was in 1832-3, exclusive of the balance due on account
 to the Commercial Branch, which with interest, was computed at five
 millions.—P. 6 of Papers respecting the negotiations which His Majesty's
 Ministers on the subject of the East India Company's Charter. Printed by
 order of the Court of Directors for the information of the Proprietors. 1833.

COMMERCIAL PROFITS APPLIED TO TERRITORY.

the case, a bullion remittance might be resorted to without any fear of its being attended with permanent embarrassment; for, if the exportation proceeded to an inconvenient extent, a re-importation would follow, and the evil would produce its own remedy: a third course would be the sale to merchants in England, of bills on the Indian treasuries, which might in general be profitably effected.

The fact of the appropriation of any portion of commercial profits, as a provision for a deficient Indian Revenue, was the subject of a keen controversy; the opponents of the Company not only denying that such appropriation had been made, but asserting that the Commerce of the Company had been always attended with loss, and that the deficit had been made good by the territorial revenue, the whole of the Indian debt having grown out of the necessity of borrowing money for the Company's investments. In order to establish this assertion, it was necessary to revert to the earliest years of the trade, before the Company's acquirement of the Dewani, 1765, from which time, until the renewal of the Charter, in 1813, the political and commercial transactions of the East India Company had been so intimately blended, that it was impossible to submit them to an unimpeachable discrimination.¹ To what extent the trade had assisted the revenue, or the revenue the trade in remote periods, could no longer be determined, and it was useless to inquire; and the only legitimate subject of investigation, was the nature of their connection, since the separation of the accounts had rendered it capable of ascertainment. With the charter of 1813, a plan was devised for keeping the territorial and commercial accounts distinct in future. Without attempting to analyse the composition of the actual property in India, or the demands against it, the Indian Debts and Assets were declared to be territorial, with a few inconsiderable exceptions. The property at home and afloat, was carried to the credit of the commercial branch: and it was charged

¹ "All the statements which have been drawn out with a view to an enquiry into the relative position of the two branches of the Company's affairs, antecedently to the commencement of the present Charter, differ materially from each other, as well in point of principle as in their details and results, and show the extreme difficulty, or rather the impossibility, of arriving at any certain conclusion upon a point of which the accounts, whence the statements are drawn, do not afford either the perfect illustration or the proof." — Comm. H. of Com., 1832, Finance App. No. 2, Mr. Pennington's Report.

BOOK III. with all debts which were not incurred on account of
 CHAP. IX. clearly territorial disbursements. Some doubt existed as
 1832. to the assignment of the Home Bond Debt ; but that was
 finally pronounced to be also of territorial origin.¹ From
 the comparison, which it thus became easy to institute, it
 was not to be denied that the joint commerce with India
 and China had realised, in the interval between 1813-14
 and 1828-9, considerable profits, a portion of which had
 been applied to the relief of the territorial deficit.² But it
 was urged, that the commercial profits arising wholly out
 of the China trade were, in fact, paid by the English con-
 sumers of tea, and constituted a tax upon Great Britain in
 favour of the India revenue, which the former could not
 in equity be called upon to defray. Otherwise direct
 assistance would be the preferable course. There was no
 reason, however, to infer, from there having been a deficit
 in past years, that it must occur in future, and for ever.
 Its occurrence was, in all probability, attributable, at
 least, in part, to the reliance of the local governments upon
 the extraneous resources which had been found available,
 as it was natural that they should not be very rigorous in
 repressing an expenditure for the excess of which the
 commerce was ever ready to provide. Perseverance in the
 searching measures of economy which had latterly been
 enjoined, would in due time confine the expenses of the
 Indian Governments within the limits of their income ;
 and no rational doubt could be entertained of the compe-
 tency of India to answer all just demands upon her Ex-
 chequer. The revenue, notwithstanding occasional fluctu-
 ations, had been steadily progressive, and promised still to
 increase. The resources of the country, still imperfectly
 developed, had continued to improve, and the people had
 increased in numbers and prosperity. It was only neces-
 sary that the system of economy now established, should
 be followed out with wisdom and steadiness, and the re-
 sources of the country be fostered both by active encour-
 agement and judicious forbearance. If these objects were

¹ Incurred for money raised on the Company's Bonds, under the authority of Parliament, 9 and 10 William III., and subsequent enactments. In 1829, the amount was 3,796,000.

² In addition to the application of the sum above stated to the discharge of the India Debt, the accounts on the 30th April, 1820, shewed a balance due to the commercial branch of 3,036,000*l*.

pursued with firmness and judgment, the financial prosperity of India would undoubtedly be secured, and the revenue be found fully equal to defray the whole charges of the state.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

1832.

But, although, as far as India was concerned, the means of remitting the amount requisite to defray expenses incurred in England, and the observance of strict economy on the one hand, and an improvement of the national resources on the other, might obviate the recurrence of any deficiency of the public income: yet, inasmuch as the East India Company was possessed both of valuable property and of valuable claims, it was required to consider how they should be dealt with for the benefit of Great Britain and of India. Whatever might be thought of the applicability of the profits of the commerce to territorial disbursements, there was no question that they formed the source, whence the dividends payable on the capital of the proprietors of India Stock were derived; and, it was equally certain, that an amount of principal existed, the right of the Company to which could not be contested. How was this to be disposed of?

The plan suggested by the Ministers, proposed to consider the payment of the whole dividends in future as an annuity to be granted to the Proprietors, to be charged upon the territorial revenue of India, not to be redeemable for a given term, and then at the option of Parliament, by the payment of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity. In order to provide a fund for this additional charge on the Territorial Revenue, it was proposed that the whole of the Company's commercial assets, which were capable of conversion into money, should be so converted; and with the cash balance of the commercial department should be appropriated to the discharge of an amount of the Indian Territorial debt, equivalent to a capital yielding an income equal to the dividends on the Stock, or 630,000*l.* a year. This plan, therefore, involved no augmentation of the Indian debt, nor imposed any new burthen on the Indian resources. The measure was merely one of substitution, and the substitution might be effected in a manner peculiarly advantageous by the redemption, in the first instance, of the remittable loan, which pressed most heavily on the Indian finances. Instead, therefore, of impairing, the

BOOK III. tionable rights, secured them in all the influence and co-
 CHAP. IX. sideration derivable from their instrumentality in the

1832.

government of India, and in the receipt of the usual interest upon their capital. The object of the Ministers was evidently the intimidation of the Company into an acquiescence with their scheme, and the contest was too unequal to admit of any doubt of the result.¹

Whilst positively affirming, from the language of the several Acts conferring upon the Company their commercial privileges, that the Territory had no right to any part of the Commercial Assets, and denying that the latter were subject to any liabilities on account of the Indian Debt, the Court of Directors disclaimed any purpose of pursuing their claims with unqualified rigour, or withholding their assent to a settlement upon the principle of a fair and liberal compromise. They were, in short, prepared to agree to the mutual transfer of property and claims between Commerce and Territory, if the interests of the Proprietors were more effectually protected, and the security of the dividend was better defended from any possible interference of the Board, or from the chances of embarrassment in the finances of India, by which its punctual discharge might be disturbed. The method by which this object might be accomplished was the provision of some collateral security for the regular payment of the dividend, and ultimately, if necessary, of the principal, in the shape of an effective sinking fund, based upon the investment in the national stocks of some portion of

¹ Various other arguments were adduced to reconcile the Proprietors of India Stock to the measure. It is unnecessary to repeat them; but the following is of very suspicious seriousness and sincerity. "While the Government deeply feel the obligation of providing for every fair and just claim that can be preferred on behalf of the Proprietors, it is from other and higher considerations that they are led to attach peculiar value to that part of their plan which places the Proprietors on Indian Security. The plan allots to the proprietary body important powers and functions in the administration of India; and, in order to ensure their properly exercising such powers and functions, His Majesty's Ministers deem it essential that they shall be linked and bound, in point of interest, to the country which they are to assist in governing. The measure, therefore, of connecting them immediately with the territory of India is evidently not an incidental or immaterial, but a vital condition of the arrangement; and in proportion as this condition is dispensed with, the advantages of the arrangement are sacrificed. If the Proprietors are to look to England rather than to India for the security of their dividend, their interest in the good government of India, and consequently their fitness as one of the principal organs of Indian government, will in the same degree be impaired." Letter from the Right Hon. C. Grant, 12th Feb. 1833. Papers respecting the Charter, p. 50.

the commercial assets. To this proposal a reluctant assent was given by the ministers ; and they expressed their willingness to permit 1,300,000*l.* to be taken from the Company's commercial assets, which should be invested in the national stocks, and, with accumulated interest, should form a fund, as a guarantee or collateral security for the capital stock of the Company, and be applicable to its future redemption. The principal was to be suffered to accumulate until it either reached the amount of twelve millions, when accumulation should cease, and the interest be employed as the Board and the Court might think most expedient for the benefit of India, or whatever the amount might be, at the period fixed by Parliament for the redemption of the annuity, it should be applied in or towards that redemption. To this proposal the Court hesitated to accede, as they considered the amount of the guarantee fund should not be less than two millions, and that the interest accruing on it should be available as a temporary appropriation for any interruption in the payment of the dividends from territorial difficulties in India. The Court also required that the government of India should be continued to the Company until the annuity should be redeemed. To these conditions His Majesty's Ministers declined to accede. They expressed themselves willing to assign a term of forty years, within which the annuity should not be liable to a compulsory discharge ; but they left it to Parliament to fix the term of the exercise of the administration of the government of India, as that rested entirely on political not commercial considerations.

Another question, on which the Court and the President of the Board of Control entertained irreconcilable sentiments, regarded the independence of action to be retained by the former. The weight and influence which the Company had enjoyed in England had been mainly derived, it was affirmed, from their commercial character ; and the loss of their commerce could not fail to lessen their consideration with the public, and their authority with the Government. There was reason to fear, therefore, that the Company would be reduced to a state of weakness and dependence incompatible with the right performance of their duties, and become merely an instrument for giving

BOOK III. liquidation of territorial charges incurred at home, the
 CHAP. IX. Company could not consent to give up the whole of their
 1833. assets, commercial and territorial, to the Crown for the benefit of the territorial Government of India, in exchange for an annuity of 10*l.* per cent. for a term of forty years, redeemable at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.*, unless such a sum were set apart from those assets as should constitute a guarantee fund, which, with accumulated interest for forty years, should be sufficient at the end of that term to redeem the annuity at the rate proposed, such fund to be also available to provide for payment of the dividends, in the event of India failing to remit them—all sums so applied to be replaced by territorial repayments: 3. That the management of the affairs of India should be secured to the Company for a term of at least twenty years; and, that at the expiration of the period, if then discontinued, they should be allowed the option of demanding payment of the principal of the annuity on the terms already proposed: 4. That during the Company's administration of the Government of India, all measures involving direct or contingent expenditure, should originate with the Court of Directors, subject as at present to the control of the Board, under the existing law: 5. That sufficient powers should be reserved to the Company to check, by a system of publicity through Parliament or some other competent authority, any acts of the Board which might appear to the Court of Directors to be expedient and unjust: and, 6. That the Court should retain sufficient power over the commercial assets to enable them, with the concurrence of the proprietors, and confirmation of the Board, to provide for the discharge of all outstanding commercial obligations, and for compensation to such of the commercial officers and servants of the Company as might be affected by the proposed arrangements. These resolutions the Court of Directors were to be requested to communicate to His Majesty's Ministers.

The resolutions thus submitted to the General Court, gave rise to a protracted and desultory discussion, which lasted for seven days. The arguments which had been urged by the Court of Directors against the abolition of the privileged trade with China were repeated; but it was admitted that the tide of popular opinion set too strongly

against its continuance, to be resisted; either by the Ministers or the Company. Some of the members recommended the Company's continuing to carry on the trade in competition with the private merchants; but this suggestion met with little encouragement, as it was obvious that the competition was likely to be attended with ruinous results. The relinquishment of their commercial character was therefore submitted to; but it was less readily agreed to undertake the Government of India at the sacrifice of their whole commercial property. It was acknowledged, that it was of vital importance to the prosperity and preservation of India, that it should be subject to an intermediate governing body, unconnected with party politics or parliamentary divisions, and independent of the changes of ministry in England—one that should look to the government of India as its sole interest and obligation, and should not be liable to be diverted from its one great duty by the manifold objects which, whether of European, or purely British origin—whether of great or trivial magnitude—must ever render Indian interests of secondary weight with a British administration. But it was denied that the Proprietors of Indian Stock could be reasonably expected in return for occupying this intermediate post, to give up a large and valuable property, which, notwithstanding the insinuated threats of the Ministers to call in question, they maintained to be their own under the repeated sanction of the Acts of the Legislature. They claimed a more than sufficient amount of assets, to provide for the perpetual payment of their dividends, without taxing the natives of India for their benefit; and they considered any restriction upon the disposal of their property, according to their own notions of expedience and equity, to be a gratuitous interference with private rights, and little better than an act of authoritative spoliation. An immediate investment of a sum sufficient to provide for the annual dividends, was, therefore, urged by some of the speakers; by others, of such a sum as should furnish the requisite principal at the end of forty years.¹ Any other arrangement would

BOOK III.

CHAP. IX.

1833.

¹ £18,000,000, was the sum computed for the former object, by Mr. Randle Jackson; £4,500,000 for the latter, by Mr. Weeding. — Debates, India House, 16th April, 1833.

BOOK III. be incompatible with the legitimate demands of the Com-
 CHAP. IX. pany, and with the honour and justice of the nation, and
 1833. a most unworthy requital of the exertions and sacrifices
 by which the Company had achieved the conquest of India,
 and presented so magnificent an accession to the wealth
 and power of the parent country. An amendment was,
 therefore, proposed by Mr. Hume, in which, after an-
 nouncing the acquiescence of the Company in the loss of
 the trade with China, their willingness to undertake the
 administration of India, and their being prepared to
 any fair and liberal compromise, the Court felt obliged to
 declare that the plan proposed by the Ministers for ad-
 justing the pecuniary claims of the Company was neither
 satisfactory nor liberal, nor a just equivalent for the
 immense amount of commercial and territorial assets which
 they were called upon to surrender; and a hope was
 therefore expressed, that the Ministers would consent to
 such an arrangement, as should place the dividends and
 principal of the Company's Stock beyond the risk of those
 political changes and occurrences in India, which might
 endanger both. Other amendments were suggested, but
 they were objected to as closing the door of negotiation
 which was left open by the original resolutions; and the
 latter were finally submitted to the ballot, and adopted by
 a large majority.¹ The doubts which the Ministers had
 intimated of the liability of the commercial assets to
 demands, by which they might be overwhelmed, evidently
 operated upon the fears of the proprietors, and influenced
 them to accede to the terms proposed, with the chance of
 some slight modification in their favour. They were not
 wholly disappointed.

The resolutions of the Court of Proprietors having been
 communicated to the Ministers, the President of the Board
 announced to the Court, their consent to extend the
 amount of the Guarantee Fund to two millions, and to
 allow money to be raised upon its credit for the payment
 of dividends, should a deficiency of remittance accrue
 although they considered such an emergency as little

¹ On the 3rd of May, the result of the ballot was in favour of the resolution
 proposed by Sir J. Malcolm 477
 Against it 52

Majority in favour 425

likely to occur; since it was proposed to give to the dividend the legal preference to all other home territorial payments. With respect to the term for which the Company were to administer the government, the Minister consented to suggest a limit of twenty years; and in regard to the relations between the powers of the Court and the Board, they abandoned the suggestions of reserving to the latter a veto on the result of Governors and Military Commanders from India. Ministers also agreed that if, at the expiration of twenty years, or at any subsequent period, the Company were deprived of the political government, the proprietors should have the option at three years' notice, of being paid off at the rate of 100*l.* for every 5*l.* 5*s.* of annuity; and that they should then be entitled to apply that capital, or any portion of it to the resumption of their right to trade, if they should see fit to resume it. To the origination of expenditure by the Court of Directors, subject in all cases, except in the details of the Home Establishment, to the control of the Board; and to a provision for the discharge of outstanding obligations and individual claims under the sanction of the Board, no objection was taken; but with respect to the suggested appeal to Parliament or the public on the occasion of differences of opinion between the Court and the Board, Ministers, while professing a readiness to entertain any practicable expedient for the purpose, expressed their disbelief of the necessity of the arrangement, or the possibility of devising an unexceptionable plan for carrying it into operation.

The concessions of His Majesty's ministers still failed to satisfy the Court of Directors upon the two principal subjects of discussion; the amount of the Guarantee Fund, and the means of giving publicity to differences with the Board. To secure the amount of twelve millions, requisite for the redemption of the annuity at the end of forty years, it would be necessary to set apart at least three millions from the commercial assets, or to prolong the period at which the annuity should be redeemable, an arrangement less satisfactory to the Proprietors. With respect to the publicity they desired, they explained, that it was not so much of the nature of an appeal, which might have the effect of inconveniently suspending the

BOOK III. orders of the Board, as of a protest which they suggested
 CHAP. IX. should be laid before both Houses of Parliament against
 1833. any orders of the Board against which they should have remonstrated in vain. Their objections were unavailing. To the first, the President of the Board replied, that an enlargement of the Fund was superfluous ; for, as the Government was pledged whenever it exercised the option of redeeming the annuity at a fixed rate, which was equivalent to a principal of twelve millions, it made no difference to the Proprietors of India Stock what might be the value of the fund. It was for the Government to provide the necessary addition to raise it to twelve millions, or to let it go on accumulating until it had reached that amount. The reference to Parliament in the result of a collision between the Court and the Board required no formal enactment, as the Court could always exercise the privilege which they enjoyed in common with all other subjects of the realm, of approaching Parliament by petition ; and Ministers refused to accede to a measure of which they could not admit the necessity, and which, whatever the precise shape that it might assume, could not fail to operate, in their apprehension, very prejudicially to the purposes of good government. This communication, Mr. Grant intimated, was to be considered as final.¹

Upon taking the conclusive reply of His Majesty's Ministers into consideration, the Court of Directors, although still retaining their opinion, that the arrangement recommended by them would have been most consistent with the just expectations of the Proprietors, yet, as the principle had been admitted to the extent that, if paid off before the period at which the Guarantee Fund should have become twelve millions, the Company would have the same advantages as if the fund provided had been larger : or if not paid off before that period, they would have the same advantage as if the term of redemption were extended ; they determined to recommend to the Proprietors to acquiesce in the limitation of the fund to two millions. With respect to the question of publicity, they also adhered to the opinion of its utility ; but, if the Proprietors concurred in the recommendation regarding the Guarantee Fund, it would be unnecessary to adopt

¹ Letter from Mr. Charles Grant, 4th June, 1833.

any further proceedings until the Proprietors should have before them the Bill which was to be submitted to Parliament. To this resolution, the Chairman, Mr. Majoribanks, and the Deputy-Chairman, Mr. Wigram, recorded their dissent, upon the grounds, that the sum of two millions, instead of three, set apart for a Guarantee Fund, was insufficient; and that some legislative provision for giving publicity, in certain cases of difference between the Board of Commissioners and the Court of Directors, was indispensable for maintaining the independence of the Court, and consequently the good government of India. Agreeably to the decision of the majority of the Court, their recommendation was submitted to a General Court of Proprietors on the 10th of June, and after some discussion received their concurrence. In the mean time, the question of the Renewal of the East India Company's Charter had been introduced to the consideration of both Houses of Parliament.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

1833.

Before noticing the proceedings of the Legislature relative to the renewal of the Company's Charter, we may here advert to some transactions which took place about this period, and which were especially alluded to in the Dissent of the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman, as illustrative of the necessity of introducing some provision for giving publicity to cases of difference between the Court of Directors and the Board. Unless, it was observed, it were known that the two co-ordinate authorities acted under a positive responsibility to Parliament; the paramount authority might enforce their views and opinions, however contrary to good government or wholesome rule, without the possibility of the Legislature becoming acquainted with the facts, by the Minister's refusing the production of documents requisite for a proper understanding of the case. The truth of this assertion was clearly substantiated by what had actually taken place with reference to different pecuniary claims on the revenues of India, which had been steadily resisted by the Court, but which had been upheld, and in some instances enforced, by the Board. The papers, explanatory of these occurrences had been printed at the instance of the Proprietors.

Of one of the cases of difference between the Court and

BOOK III. the Board, that of the pecuniary claims of Messrs. Palmer
CHAP. IX. and Co., we have already had occasion to give an account.

1833.

Another instance of this description, concerned claims put forward on behalf of Manohur Das and Sital Baboo, native bankers, having establishments in various cities of India, upon the King of Oude, for debts contracted by Asof-ad-Dowla, as far back as 1796. The claims had been repeatedly under the consideration of the Court, who had invariably declined to countenance or support them, in which determination they had hitherto received the concurrence of the Board. A different view had, however, been taken up by the President of the Board. In 1832, Mr. C. Grant, and the Court had been desired to adopt the draft of a despatch framed by the Board; in which, after recapitulating the particulars of the transaction, the Government of Bengal was instructed to use its utmost efforts in strongly urging upon the King of Oude the importance of an immediate and effectual adjustment—or, in other words, the payment of Asof-ad-Dowla's debts. The justice of this decided interposition was based upon the part taken by the Governments of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore, in assisting the Nawab to ascertain the extent of his debts, and to put them in a train of liquidation. The Resident was authorised to contribute to the investigation, and the Governor-General had assented to express his sentiments on the adjustment of them, provided it was understood that the Company should not be implicated in any responsibility by reason of such interference. Statements furnished by the creditors, and counter-statements by the ministers of the Nawab Vizir, were accordingly made out and transmitted to the Government: but, in the meantime, the Vizir undertook for himself the settlement of the demands against him. In effecting this, he granted more favourable terms to his European than to his native creditors; but the latter, nevertheless, acceded to the conditions he offered, with the exception of the Calcutta bankers. They demanded the same terms that had been granted to the Europeans; and their claims had consequently remained unadjusted at the time of Asof-ad-Dowla's death. The obligation of discharging the public debts of his predecessor was urged upon Sadat Ali, by Lord Wellesley's Government, but the Nawab had evaded or

declined compliance. The Marquis of Hastings, considering that the demand had been originally admitted to be just ; that it had been countenanced by the preceding administration ; and that the bankers might reasonably expect, from their character of British subjects, and from the peculiar circumstances of their claim, the good offices of the Government, once more authorised the Resident's interposition to the extent of recommending to the Nawab Vizir an equitable settlement of the demand. The Nawab, in reply, expressed so positive a determination not to entertain the claim, that the Governor-General did not conceive himself warranted in pressing it further without the sanction of the Court. The sanction was unreservedly withheld, both on the general principle of non-interference in pecuniary transactions between individuals and native princes ; and on the peculiar relations which subsisted with the Nawab Vizir.¹ The Government was, therefore, interdicted from any future attempts to effect an adjustment. In this resolution the Court had steadily persevered, and had, on various occasions, recorded their determination to permit no authoritative interference in a matter in which the Nawab was entirely independent of control. They denied that the particular claim in question was distinguished by any peculiarity from other claims which had been brought forward, and which the Court had equally refused to support : that it had been recognised as just, or in any way investigated as to its real merits : or that the Government of India, in giving assistance and advice to the Nawab, to extricate himself from his embarrassments, had thereby contracted any responsibility to his creditors, or given any countenance to their claims.² To this view of the case they firmly adhered ; and on being again desired to forward the despatch, unanimously refused to act upon the orders of the Board, unless com-

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

1833.

¹ In the letter which was addressed to the Government, and which had the concurrence of Mr. Canning, as President of the Board, it was observed. "We are so much aware of the difficulty of divesting a friendly communication to a weaker power of the character of authority, and are so apprehensive that the consequence of pressing upon the Vizir the consideration of those claims might bring upon him others from various quarters ; that we direct you to rest contented with the attempt you have already made, and to abstain from any similar proceedings hereafter, at the instance either of these, or any other claimants." — Letter of Court, 12th February, 1819. — Papers, Pecuniary Claims. p. 3.

² Letter from the Court to the Board, 12th March, 1833. Papers, on Pecuniary Claims.

BOOK III. pelled by law to do so. The President of the Board of
 CHAP. IX. Control was, therefore, driven to his favourite resource of
 1833. compelling the Company, by a writ of mandamus, to lend
 themselves to the enforcement of claims, the justice of
 which they questioned, and the payment of which they
 had no right whatever to extort from the king of Oude.
 The writ was applied for, and the rule granted ; but at the
 last moment the application was abandoned, and the con-
 sideration of the subject was indefinitely postponed.¹

Whatever expectations might be entertained of any
 benefit being derived from a reference to Parliament in
 the case of a difference between the Board of Control and
 the Court of Directors, the latter had no great reason,
 from experience of the past, to expect that the legislature
 would ever take part with the Company in opposition to
 ministerial influence. On the contrary, Parliament had
 recently shown itself equally disposed as the Board to pro-
 mote private ends at the expense of public justice, and to
 give the weight of its authority to demands of obsolete
 date, equivocal origin, and unauthenticated amount, in
 subservience to the interests of individuals, and in disre-
 gard of the well-founded objections of the Court. Thus, a
 bill was brought into Parliament, early in 1831, to provide
 for the discharge of a claim in respect of money advanced
 by the late James Hodges, Esq., on security of the lands
 of the late Zemindar of Nozid and Mustaphanagar, in the
 East Indies, now under the sovereignty of the East India
 Company. The progress of the bill was suspended by the
 close of the session ; but it was again brought forward and
 referred to a Select Committee, before whom counsel was
 heard both in support of and in opposition to the measure.
 The Committee having recommended that the bill should
 pass, petitions were presented against it by the Company,
 but to no purpose. It was approved of by the Commons,
 and sent up to the House of Lords, where counsel was
 again heard ; and notwithstanding the opposition of Lord
 Ellenborough and the adverse opinion of the Chancellor,
 Lord Brougham, it also passed the House, and became
 law. The Company were, therefore, compelled by the
 legislature to pay, at the expense of the people of India, a

¹ Papers on Pecuniary Claims, printed by order of the House of Commons,
 May, 1834.

considerable sum, the claim for which originated at the distance of more than half a century in transactions of a highly questionable description.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.

1833.

In 1775, at a time when the civil Government of Madras was deeply tainted with corruption of every kind, Mr. Hodges, a member of the Council of Masulipatam, took upon himself certain debts, said to be due to other members of the Council by Narsing Apparao Zemindar of Nozid, and he also lent money to the Zemindar, the whole amounting with interest to 57,661 Madras Pagodas: the entire proceeding being a violation of the known sentiments of the Court, and being carried on without the sanction or cognizance of the Government. The contraction of the loan was not communicated to the latter, until 1779, when in consequence of the irretrievable embarrassments in which Apparao, through his own improvidence and the help of his European creditors, was involved, he was unable to discharge his obligations to the State, and the Council of Masulipatam, of which Mr. Hodges continued to be a member, proposed that the Zemindari should be taken possession of by the Company, the revenues being appropriated in the first instance to the payment of the yearly tribute, and of a fourth of the arrears annually, until the whole was discharged; secondly, to the maintenance of the Zemindar; and lastly, the surplus, if any, should be assigned to the creditors. No specification was made who the creditors were, nor of the assignment to them of certain villages, the revenues of which they had for some time past enjoyed. This assignment was continued until 1784, when Lord Macartney, although expressing his opinion that the transaction was unwarranted in its principle and pernicious in its tendency, yet as it had been recognised by a preceding administration, consented, upon their giving up the mortgaged villages and rendering satisfactory accounts, to recommend the case of the creditors to the Company, and to establish such provision for them as could be with propriety set apart from the Company's superior demands. The districts were taken possession of accordingly; and it was declared that no provision should be made for any of the creditors until the public claims were fully satisfied.¹

¹ The orders of the Government to this effect were communicated to Mr. Hodges, as creditor, by himself as chief of Masulipatam.

K III. of the demand, and declared the debt to have originated
 P. IX. chiefly in fictitious transactions: and as the statements of
 the parties were found irreconcilable, it was determined by
 333. Lord Wellesley in 1807, to refrain from any interference,
 and leave them to settle the claim between themselves.
 In consequence, however, of the application made to the
 Court by Mr. Hutchinson's representatives in England,
 the Governments of Madras and Bombay were desired to
 furnish further information with respect to the demand;
 until the receipt of which, the Resident was instructed
 to recommend to the Raja, to decline further payment on
 account of it until its justice should be made out to the
 satisfaction of the Government of Madras. The informa-
 tion required was not received until 1823; when the Court
 decided, that the demand, even granting it to be in other
 respects unquestionable, was not of a character to receive
 their countenance, or to be insisted on through their
 agency. They expressed their purpose, therefore, to leave
 the parties entirely to themselves, and withdrew their
 recommendation to the Raja to suspend his payments. It
 was chiefly on their previous suggestion to that effect,
 that Mr. Hutchinson's representatives grounded their com-
 plaint, affirming that the settlement of the demand had
 been prevented by the Company's interposition at a time
 when the Raja was disposed to discharge it. This allega-
 tion was denied by the Court, as the demand had four or
 five years before been denounced as fictitious by the
 Minister of the Raja; and it could not be supposed that
 he would have agreed to liquidate a claim, the justice of
 which he so unqualifiedly denied. Although it also ap-
 peared, that the fact of Mr. Hutchinson's dealings with
 the Raja was known informally to the Government of
 Bombay, and as far as they bore a commercial character,
 were not interdicted, yet his proceedings in the purchase
 of pepper had been obviously detrimental to the public
 interests, and his pecuniary transactions with the Raja
 were a breach of the regulations which in 1777 prohibited
 all Company's servants from loans of money to natives,
 under pain of suspension from the service. The claim
 was, therefore, one which had no title to the support,
 either of the Court or Legislature.¹ The clever advocacy

¹ Report of Committee of Correspondence, 11th April, 1832.—Papers Pecuniary Claims, 32.

of Mr. Macaulay, one of the secretaries of the Board on this occasion, satisfied the house of the exceptionable origin of the claims, and notwithstanding the contrary recommendation of the preceding Session, the Bill was rejected.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.
1833.

The Parliament assembled in January, 1833, but the discussion of subjects of local interest prevented the Ministers from bringing forward their proposed arrangements for the renewal of the Company's Charter, until the Session was so far advanced that little opportunity remained for that careful and deliberate consideration which its importance demanded. Had, however, the time permitted of due investigation, little inclination was manifested by either house to devote much attention to the inquiry. The attendance was invariably scanty, and but few members of any note took part in the discussions. The subject was evidently distasteful to the majority of the house, and the future welfare of the vast empire of India was of much less magnitude in their estimation than an affray between the mob and the police, or the representation of the most insignificant borough from which reform had not yet wrested the elective franchise. On the 13th of June, the question was introduced by Mr. Grant, to a Committee of the whole House, whose indulgence he felt it necessary to solicit, as the subject was one which could not be expected to excite that strong interest which belonged to some other topics recently discussed, as it wanted the stimulus of party or political feeling, and the details it would be necessary to offer might be found tedious and uninteresting. Such was the language which it was thought advisable by a minister of the Crown to employ in order to conciliate the attention of the members of a British House of Commons to one of the most grave and momentous questions that could be submitted to their decision, and involved considerations of vital importance to the future prosperity of both India and Great Britain.

The first question to be decided, respected the agency, by which the political Government of India was to be conducted; and in looking back through the last forty years, it was undeniable that, notwithstanding the existence of many evils and imperfections in the system, a



BOOK III. Governments. A fourth Presidency had been rendered
 CHAP. IX. advisable by the great extent of the jurisdiction of the
 1833. Government of Bengal, which at present comprehended the North Western Provinces, the separation of which was essential for their effective administration. They were, therefore, to be placed under a separate Government. It was also thought advisable that the Governor-General should be relieved from the functions of a single and separate Government^s; and should be invested with a more decided control over the subordinate Presidencies, than he actually possessed, especially in regard to matters of expenditure. Whether the Governor-General should retain the immediate charge of one of the Presidencies, and whether the Councils of the subordinate Presidencies should be reduced or abolished, were questions for further deliberation. The state of the law in India required amelioration. At present the laws were so various and so vague, that in many cases it was impossible to know what the law was. The nature of the authority from which the laws originated, was ill-defined and questionable; and the powers of the different courts of Judicature were, in many respects, indefinite and contradictory, leading to embarrassing and mischievous collision. These questions were of peculiar importance with regard to the probable increase of European residents on the removal of the restrictions which had hitherto prevented their settling in India, and which it was proposed to abolish—as advantages of the highest moment to India and to Great Britain might be anticipated from the free admission to the former of British enterprise and capital: the only obstacle that impeded their unrestricted settlement, was the present state of the law; and until British settlers were made amenable to the Courts of that part of the country where they should reside, it would not be advisable to give them free access to the provinces. This difficulty might be obviated by arming the Government with power to enact such regulations for the conduct of both natives and Europeans as would have the effect of approximating the two people, and the laws of the two countries, and pave the way for ultimate assimilation. For this purpose, Mr. Grant proposed to strengthen the Supreme Council by the addition of two more members than it was actually com-

posed of, and of one or two other persons, barristers of high standing, or retired Judges, who would apply their professional knowledge to effecting the requisite alterations in the local law, and also to authorise the Governor-General to appoint a Commission, to consist of persons experienced in the administration of Indian justice, with the assistance of one or two persons from this country, to inquire how far it might be practicable to establish a uniform system of law and judicature in India. Natives were likewise to be relieved from all disabilities to hold office or employment on account of their birth or religion. Slavery in India was very different from than in the West Indies; and was so closely connected with the domestic habits and religious feelings of the natives, that it required cautious treatment. Finally, Mr. Grant proposed to call the attention of the House to the alterations in the Ecclesiastical Establishment in India, which, without materially adding to the charge, should give Suffragan Bishops to Madras and Bombay, and relieve the Bishop of Calcutta of the laborious superintendence which now devolved upon him. In conclusion, he moved the adoption of three resolutions, which declare it expedient:

1. To open the trade with China to all British subjects.
2. To require from the Company the transfer to the Crown on behalf of the Indian territory, of all assets and claims of every description, in consideration of such equivalent payment as the Parliament should enact: and the acknowledgment by the Crown on behalf of the territory of all the obligations of the Company; and,
3. The continuance of the Government of India to the Company, under such conditions as the Parliament should determine.

As it was intimated by the Minister that the adoption of these resolutions would not pledge members to any specific course, no objections were taken to them in the discussion that ensued. Mr. Wynn, late President of the Board, recommended a material alteration in the constitution of the Court of Directors; the reduction of the number to six or eight, who were to be nominated by the Crown, from persons who had served at least twelve years in India. No difficulty, he conceived, would arise from that arrangement as to the distribution of the patronage, as while a portion might be exercised as at present by the

BOOK III. Crown and the Directors, some appointments might be
CHAP. IX. given to the Universities, and the rest might be placed at
1833. the disposal of the chief civil and military authorities
in India. He expressed a general concurrence with the
principle of the resolutions. Mr. Buckingham objected to
the assignment of the political administration of India to
a Joint Stock Company, consisting of a fluctuating body of
individuals, of whom the largest portion were women and
children, and of the rest of whom few were likely to feel
any other interest in India than the realization of their
dividends. He denied the correctness of the assertion of
the President of the Board of Control, that India had
prospered under the system of administration pursued by
the Company, as, even according to an admission recently
made by a member of the Board, the people of India were
the most oppressed and heavily taxed race under the sun.
Symptoms of rapid decay where every where visible; the
population, the commerce, and the revenue, had declined;
and nothing had gone on increasing but embarrassment
and debt. It would be much more for the benefit of
India that the Government should take the management
of the territory, with all its incumbrances, and leave the
Company to dispose of their commercial assets as they
should think proper. The only prospect of advantage that
could be expected to result from the plan proposed by the
Board arose from the unrestricted admission of Europeans,
by whose settling in the country the resources of India
would be developed, and a revenue of a hundred millions
a-year might come to be levied with a lighter pressure on
the people than was now laid upon them by a fifth of the
amount. The Resolutions were agreed to.

On the 5th of July, the Resolutions adopted by the
House of Commons were introduced by the Marquis of
Lansdowne to the House of Lords. Like his colleague in
the Lower House, he was under the necessity of depre-
cating the habitual inattention of his hearers to a subject
which had seldom found in them a willing audience—the
Government of India. The magnitude of the question
now at stake might, he trusted, induce them to forego
their usual indifference, and to bear patiently with those
who sought their decision with regard to the disposal of a
country which far exceeded the colonial possessions of any

other state in extent, population, and importance. His Lordship then went over the grounds on which the Ministers had determined to propose the entire discontinuance of the commerce of the East India Company, and the consignment to them of the government of India, and which were substantially the same as those detailed by the President of the Board of Control ; the anticipated extension of the trade with China by the energies of private enterprise, and the practical benefits which had resulted to India from the Company's administration. The mode in which the arrangements were to be carried into effect were then similarly described ; and the Noble Marquis maintained the adequacy of the resources of India to provide for all the territorial disbursements that might be required in England ; and the probable existence of a surplus after their discharge : a result attributable, in a great measure, to the vigour and judgment with which Lord W. Bentinck had reduced the expenses of the Indian Governments. The admission of the natives to a larger share than they had hitherto enjoyed in the administration of their local affairs ; the assimilation of the various systems of law which existed in India ; the formation of a fourth Presidency ; and augmented power of the Governor-General ; the extension of the Ecclesiastical Establishments : and the unrestricted access of Europeans to the old settlements, and with licenses to the new ; from which his Lordship anticipated the highest advantages to the civilisation of the population of India — were likewise adverted to in support of the Resolutions which were laid before the House.

Lord Ellenborough stated, that he had always regarded the question of the China Trade as one of finance ; and had been anxious to reduce the territorial expenditure of India, so as to make the revenues independent of commercial assistance. As soon as this was effected, there could be no objection to the freedom of commerce with China being placed at the disposal of Parliament ; although he was far from expecting from the measure the great advantages which some persons so sanguinely anticipated. On the contrary, much mischief would infallibly ensue if private merchants embarked rashly and precipitately in the trade. He did not question the adequacy of the re-

BOOK III. venues of India, to provide in due time for all territorial
 CHAP. IX. disbursements; but he considered that the views of Lord
 1833. Lansdowne were at variance with the statements laid
 before the Committees and the Board; and that the
 reduction of the expenditure very much depended upon
 the adoption of measures which he (Lord Ellenborough)
 had recommended when at the head of the Board of Com-
 missioners. The additional charges involved by the plan
 of the Government; the difference between the produce
 of the commercial assets and the greater amount of the
 dividend; the compensation to be granted to Commercial
 Servants; the cost of the proposed Law and Slavery Com-
 missions; the salaries of the three new Members of
 Council, and two new Bishops; and the travelling expenses
 of a migratory Governor-General, were likely to amount to
 a considerable sum, and, with other deductions, might be
 expected to leave a deficiency instead of a surplus of
 receipts.¹ His Lordship anticipated an unfavourable
 change in the future composition of the Courts of Pro-
 prietors and Directors, and the exclusive formation of
 both by persons connected with India. He did not think
 that this was desirable, as the consequence would be the
 predominance of feelings imbibed in India, which were not
 those best fitted to promote the happiness of the people of
 both countries. By the present system, the Court of
 Directors consisted partly of persons connected with India,
 and partly of eminent English merchants and influential
 members of society, securing an amalgamation of British
 and Indian sentiments, and the diffusion of the patronage
 over a wider and more comprehensive surface. The pro-
 posed changes at home were, however, less exceptionable

¹ The additional charges were estimated by Lord Ellenborough at £571,000 per annum.

Difference between Dividends	£630,000
And amount of interest on Remittable Loans	467,000
Excess of charge	163,000
Compensation	206,000
Law Commissioners	30,000
Slavery ditto	30,000
Travelling Charges	30,000
Three New Members of Council	30,000
Government of Agra	22,000
Two Bishops	10,000
Travelling Expenses, Governor-General	50,000
	<u>£571,000</u>

than those abroad ; and the purpose of abolishing the local councils at the subordinate Presidencies, threatened to deprive their Governors of assistance absolutely essential for the discharge of their duties, and the people of the strongest guarantee that they possessed for their security and protection. He objected also, to any diminution of the powers of the subordinate Governments as no respectable persons would hold them under such restrictions. The increased numbers of the Supreme Council, which it appeared was to consist of six members, of whom four were to be officers of the four Presidencies, the fifth a philosopher, and the sixth a soldier, could only be a source of contest, delay, and inefficiency. The new legislative powers to be given to the Council, by which the Supreme Courts were virtually abolished, filled him with astonishment. The Courts were established not only for the benefit of Europeans, but to protect the natives of India against European oppression, and every security which had been given them would thus be swept away. With regard to the permission to be granted to Europeans, to settle in India, the fact was, that all persons of capital had practically long had that liberty. No one who could assign a colourable pretext for going to India, had for a long time past been refused a license ; but it was a great mistake to suppose that capitalists went out to India. No British capital went there. The capital actually employed was mainly derived from the Civil and Military servants of the Company. The assimilation of the laws he looked upon as impossible, without violating all the prejudices and feelings of the natives, and exciting their abhorrence and disgust. Any interference with the domestic slavery of the people of India would lead most certainly to insurrection and bloodshed in every part of the country. Although equally desirous as any of His Majesty's Ministers to raise the moral character of the people of India ; and hoping that the time would come when they might fill the highest situations with benefit to the country, and honour to themselves, yet he was satisfied that any attempt to precipitate such a result, would defeat the object in view ; and with respect to Military and Political power, the very existence of the British rule in India, depended upon their exclusive exercise. He

BOOK III.

CHAP. IX.

1833.

OK III. looked upon the whole plan as crude and ill-digested, and
 AP. IX. called upon the House to delay their accession to it, until
 833. a sufficient time should be allowed for that deliberate consideration, which its importance, and the character of the House as statesmen and benefactors of the people of India, imperatively demanded.

The Earl of Ripon defended the plan of the Ministers, maintaining that it had not been adopted hastily or without extensive enquiry, and the advantage of much experience of the practical results of the renewal of the last Charter. The Duke of Wellington felt it incumbent upon him to offer his opinion on a measure which proposed so materially to change the constitution of a Government, which, from the personal opportunities he had enjoyed of witnessing its operations, he believed to be the best, the most purely administered Government that ever existed—a Government that provided best for the happiness of the people committed to its charge. It was deceiving the people of England to affirm that a trading Company, which, after nearly a century of constant wars had acquired the sovereignty over a vast population and a territory yielding a revenue of twenty millions, with a debt not exceeding forty, was unfit for the functions of Government, or unfit for the management of commerce. The present plan paid no regard to former stipulations, and completely changed the position of the Company—it had no longer the same power in relation to His Majesty's Government which it had hitherto retained, nor in relation to its old servants: it was no longer in the same independent, respectable, and influential situation in which it had existed for so long a period. One of the worst parts of the plan was, that the Company would have to draw their dividends from India—a necessity which would increase the amount of the annual remittances to an extent that could not fail to be embarrassing to the commerce. It was proposed to alter the constitution of the Local Governments, and to give to the Governor-General the power of nominating members of Council—a nomination hitherto reserved by the Court to themselves, as one of the means by which they were enabled to exercise a moderate influence over the Governor. When he found that it was designed that their

— that he was authorised to express the entire concurrence of the Marquis Wellesley, who was prevented by indisposition from attending his place, in the Resolutions. They were then agreed to.

A Bill having been drafted according to the tenor of the Resolutions was brought into the House of Commons. No proceedings took place on the first reading; but on the motion for a second reading on the 10th of July, it was again opposed by Mr. Buckingham, on the grounds argued in his former objections to the Resolutions—the unsuitness of the Company to be intrusted with the Government of India, as shewn by the history of their past mismanagement, both of their commerce and their territory, relying for his proof of both almost wholly upon the erroneous or exaggerated statements of Mr. Rickards. He concluded a long address by proposing, as an amendment, that, with reference to the importance of the subject, and the advanced period of the Session, the consideration of the Bill should be postponed till the Session ensuing. The postponement of the discussion was not agreed to, and the Bill was read a second time, after an eloquent defence by Mr. Macaulay of the principles upon which it was founded. No other alteration or modification was proposed by the members who took part in the discussion.

On the 12th of July, the House of Commons resolved itself into a Committee, for the purpose of considering the Clauses of the Bill in detail. To the greater number no objections were started, and they passed with some unimportant verbal alterations. A few gave rise to discussion in the successive sittings of the Committee.

On proposing to fill up the blank in the first clause with the words "one thousand eight hundred fifty-four"—renewing the Charter till that period—an amendment was moved by Mr. Hume, to contract the period between narrower limits, and reduce it to ten; but it was reasonably objected, that the term constituted too short an interval for the Company to administer the government of India with a view to the stability of their measures or the development of the resources of the country. Even in granting

a Turnpike Bill, it was usual to fix its continuance for twenty-one years, in order to afford a feeling of security ; and it would be very inconsistent to accord a shorter term for an object of such magnitude. The amendment was negatived.

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.
1833.

On the Clause which enacted that the Presidency of Fort William should be divided into two, it was suggested by Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, that the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay should be allowed to remain on their actual footing ; and that there should be established at Agra a government subordinate in rank, but suited to the circumstances of the North-Western Provinces. If the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were to be reduced in the manner proposed, no man of efficient talents or high character would be found to accept them ; and the whole of India would fall under the dominion of one Governor, unassisted and uncontrolled—a state of things fraught with infinite mischief. In reply, Mr. Robert Grant maintained the expediency of rendering all the Presidencies subordinate to one Supreme Government, of which it would be inconvenient to change the seat from that which it already occupied at Calcutta. He doubted not that competent persons would be found to accept the subordinate Governments, even if reduced in importance ; but the Bill was so framed as to empower the Court of Directors to make such changes in the distribution of the territories under the several Presidencies as might from time to time appear advisable ; and the question as to appointing Councils to the Subordinate Presidencies was also left open for future consideration, to be settled according to the judgment of the Court of Directors and Board of Control.

The 42nd Clause, which intrusted to the Governor-General in Council to make laws and regulations for all persons, whether Europeans or natives, and for all Courts of Justice within the territories subject to the Company, was objected to by Mr. Wynn and Mr. Ferguson, as giving to the Governor-General unprecedented authority, and as departing from the principle by which Englishmen in India were placed under the protection of the Supreme Courts. Mr. Fergusson, therefore, moved an amendment, the object of which was to secure to the British and other

BOOK III. heads of families ; and to report such laws to the Court of
 CHAP. IX. Directors for the purpose of their being laid before Parlia-
 ment. The amendment was agreed to.

1833.

The next clause, proposing to increase the number of Bishops to three, one for each Presidency, gave rise to a more prolonged discussion. Mr. O'Connell objected to the clause as recognising a state religion in India, by establishing a church for one only of the three great denominations of Christians in the United Kingdom ; and Mr. Sinclair also, on the part of the Presbyterian community, claimed a share of any provision to be made by the Government. Mr. Macaulay, although not an advocate for Episcopacy, considered any objection, founded on the expense of the establishment, which was not more than 11,000*l.* a year, and which was rather less than that hitherto incurred, inconsistent with the magnitude of the religious establishments of the Pagans and Mohammedans, drawing from the state, as he averred, several millions. Mr. O'Connell explained that his objection was not to the cost, but to the principle. Mr. Wilks thought it unnecessary to augment the Ecclesiastical establishment for the benefit of the comparatively few persons who were likely to benefit by their ministry, not exceeding, inclusive of the European soldiery, forty thousand persons ; and who could not require three Bishops, while for the great object of promoting the progress of Christianity, the services of the Bishops and Chaplains had been found of little avail. The diffusion of Christianity, as far as it had been accomplished, was the work of missionaries, not of the members of the clerical establishment. The clause was defended by Mr. Wynn, who argued that the natives of India had an obvious interest in the maintenance of a Christian establishment, for they would suffer most detriment, if those who were to govern them were destitute of religious instruction. It was a necessary consequence that India must bear whatever expences were necessary for its good Government ; and the maintenance of the ceremonies of their religion among those who were to administer the Government was necessary for maintaining their morality, and therefore for the welfare of India. The discussion was adjourned, and was resumed on the 19th, when Mr. O'Connell repeated, with additional earnestness, his objection to the introduction of a domi-

nant church into India, as likely at the same time to introduce all the rancour and hate of religious animosity. He asserted that of the Christians in India, the large majority were Catholics, above half a million of whom would be taxed to pay the salaries of Protestant Bishops. If provisions were made for the Protestant, the same should, in justice, be supplied to the Catholic and Presbyterian. Mr. Grant disclaimed the idea of a dominant church in India, and professed himself willing to concert with Mr. O'Connell the means of extending to the Catholic community in India, the consideration of the local Government. Mr. Shiel referred to the opinion expressed by the Company, of the injustice of taxing the natives of India for the support of a religious establishment, the expences of which had within a few years very largely increased; and argued, that as the majority of Christians in India were Catholics, all the evils of the Irish Church-establishment would be transferred to India, and with the same results. After some further observations from Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Hume, the discussion was suspended. It was resumed at the evening sitting; and after a few brief observations by several members, the clause was put to the vote, and passed in the affirmative. An additional Clause was subsequently moved by Colonel Leith Hay, that, of the established Chaplains at each Presidency, two should always be ministers of the Church of Scotland, which was agreed to. Some discussion was elicited by the Clause, proposing, that for every vacancy in the Civil Service, and consequent admission of a student to the East India College of Haileybury, four candidates should be invariably nominated, the best qualified of whom should have the preference. Mr. Wynn recommended the reference of this question to a Special Committee, as it required deliberate consideration. He doubted the advantage of the College. Mr. Fergusson and Mr. Hume also questioned the benefit of continuing the establishment; the usefulness of which was advocated by Mr. Macaulay, Lord Althorp, and Mr. Grant. No amendment was proposed, and the clause having passed, the House directed the Report to be received.

On bringing up the Report of the Committee, Mr. Wilbraham moved a clause prohibiting the exclusive manu-

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.
1833.

BOOK III. Objections to the intended changes in the constitution of
 CHAP. IX. the Government were also repeated; the needless and
 1833. costly extension of the Supreme Council, and to the abolition of the Local Councils. The former was not persisted in; the addition being restricted to the fourth or Legislative Member, and the continuance or abolition of the Local Councils was, as we have seen, left to the discretion of the Court. The Court finally requested that the third reading of the Bill should be postponed until they should have had time to consider the amendments; which not having been complied with by Mr. Grant, they prepared a petition to the House against the Bill, which was submitted to a General Court of Proprietors for their approval, and having been agreed to was presented on the 26th July, by Mr. Fergusson. The petition recapitulated the objections of the Court to the Bill—on the grounds of its making no provision for an appeal to Parliament, in cases of difference between the Court and the Board of Commissioners—of the inexpediency and expense of the alterations proposed in the constitution of the Indian Governments—of the unnecessary augmentation of the ecclesiastical establishment—and of the continuation of the college of Haileybury, which was maintained at a large annual charge, and was less efficient than a general system of education would be for securing good servants to the Indian empire. The house declined to receive the petition, or to hear counsel in behalf of the Petitioners, and, on the motion of Mr. Grant, proceeded to the third reading of the Bill. After some desultory discussions, in which the debateable provisions were attacked or defended according to the personal character and interests of the members, it was read a third time. It was then proposed by Mr. Wynn to add a clause empowering the Court of Directors to set apart a fourth of their military appointments for the sons of officers who had served for ten years in the military or civil service of the Company; but the proposal was resisted by Mr. Fergusson, because the Court had always practically shewn a disposition to pay due attention to such claims;¹ and by Mr. Grant, because he thought a

¹ Mr. Fergusson stated that the number of Cadets appointed during the last twenty-one years was 5,092, of whom 409 were the sons of civil, and 411 of military officers; 124 the sons of maritime officers; 303 the sons of clergymen and 1018 orphans.

case sufficiently strong had not been made out to warrant any interference with the patronage of the Court. The motion was negatived without division. Mr. Shiel then proposed that a provision should be made for the support of the Roman Catholic Church in India. This was objected to by Mr. Grant; but he proposed, instead, to add a proviso to the clause, by which the Governor-General in Council should not be precluded from granting, with the sanction of the Court of Directors, to any sect, persuasion, or community of Christians, such sums of money as might be expedient for the purpose of instruction, or for the maintenance of places of worship. After some opposition, this addition was acceded to. Mr. Wynn finally proposed that the College of Haileybury should be abolished; but the motion was negatived, and the Bill was passed.

This Bill, having passed the House of Commons, was transmitted to the House of Lords, and was read for the first and second time on the 29th of July and 2nd of August. On the 5th, a petition was presented by the Company, praying to be heard by Counsel; but it was met by the motion of the Marquis of Lansdowne for going into Committee on the Bill. Lord Ellenborough urged the impropriety of hurrying to a premature decision a measure involving such momentous changes in the constitution of the Indian Government—a Government which had stood the test of more than half a century; and was the offspring of men who stood in the foremost rank of practical statesmen, Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt. He objected to the additional powers of the Board of Control, which would alter all the relations between the Board and the Court of Directors, and give to the former a complete command over the latter; still further impairing that influence which the Court had hitherto beneficially enjoyed, and which could not fail to be materially enfeebled by the loss of the China trade. The proposed alterations in the organisation of the Indian Governments would weaken, not strengthen, the administration, by vesting absolute power in the hands of the Governor-General. He concluded, by moving an instruction to the Committee to omit all such clauses as tended to alter the constitution and power of the Government of the several Presidencies

BOOK III. in India. The objections of Lord Ellenborough were re-
 CHAP. IX. plied to by the Marquis of Lansdowne, and supported by
 1833. the Duke of Wellington; and the amendment was nega-
 tive: no further discussion of any importance ensued:
 the clauses of the Bill were adopted with a few verbal
 amendments; and the Bill was ordered for the third
 reading. Prior to its passing into a law, a brief interval
 was suffered to elapse, in order to afford the Proprietors
 an opportunity of considering whether or not they would
 place their commercial rights in abeyance, and to the
 Court of Directors to decide what course they would re-
 commend the Proprietors to pursue.

At a Court of Directors, held on the 12th of August, it
 was moved by the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman, that
 the Court having unfortunately failed in their endeavours
 to obtain those modifications of the East India Bill, which
 were essential to enable the Company satisfactorily to
 conduct the territorial Government of India, regretted
 that they could not recommend to the Proprietors to
 place their commercial rights in abeyance, with a view to
 their being continued in the Government under the ar-
 rangements embodied in the Bill; and they, therefore,
 referred it, without any expression of opinion, to the Pro-
 prietors, to be dealt with at their discretion. A resolution
 was, however, adopted by the majority of the Court, which,
 while it recapitulated the most palpable objections to the
 Bill, determined to recommend to the Proprietors to defer
 to the pleasure of both Houses of Parliament, and to con-
 sent to place their right to trade in abeyance, in order to
 continue to exercise the Government of India for twenty
 years longer. To this resolution a dissent was recorded
 by Mr. Marjoribanks, the chairman, and Mr. Wigram, the
 deputy-chairman, in which, having explained their motives
 for concurring in the former proceedings of the Court,
 which constituted the basis of the proposed compromise,
 they objected to recommend to the Proprietors the relin-
 quishment of their commercial rights; as the Bill had not
 provided for the conditions on which alone an equitable
 and safe compromise could have been effected. They con-
 sidered that the Proprietors were entitled, both in justice
 and equity, to a guarantee fund of at least three millions

from the proceeds of their Commercial assets, and that the provision for publicity as a rule was indispensable to the independence of the Court of Directors. Neither of these points had been conceded ; and, on the other hand, although some important modifications had been made in the most obnoxious provisions of the Bill, yet others had been introduced which rendered the scheme still more objectionable. The alteration in the constitution of the Indian Governments involved an unnecessary departure from the principles upon which the subordinate Presidencies had been conducted ; and by which they had been held directly responsible to the authorities at home. Instead of obviating the delay which had been so much complained of, it would increase the evil ; and, instead of relieving the Governor-General from a portion of his duties, it would impose upon him additional labour and responsibility. It also created a considerable additional charge upon India without conferring any adequate benefit ; while it deprived it, in some measure, of those resources without which the financial means of that country, both as regarded Income and Remittance, would be put to great hazard of diminution and loss. The transfer of the Commercial Assets to Territory was likely to occasion, not only a serious depreciation of property, but great disappointment and distrust ; and, lastly, they apprehended that the Court of Directors would be converted into little else than a mere instrument for giving effect to acts of the controlling Board ; and that it would be better that His Majesty's Government should at once openly and avowedly assume the direct administration of India, than attempt to maintain an intermediate body in deference to those constitutional principles which led to its original formation under parliamentary regulation, but which was deprived by the present measure of its authority and rendered inefficient, and converted into a mere useless charge upon the revenues of India. Under these impressions, they could not consent to recommend to their constituents to confirm the compromise by consenting to place their Chartered Rights in abeyance under the provisions of the Bill.¹ The

BOOK III.
CHAP. IX.
1833.

¹ Negotiations regarding the Renewal of the Charter, p. 462.

BOOK III.

CHAP. IX.

1833.

reasons which induced the majority, while concurring in the objections of the Chairman and Deputy to many of the provisions of the Bill, to recommend its acceptance to the Proprietors, were also put on record by several of the leading members of the Court, who adopted it as a lesser evil than its unqualified rejection; the result of which might be equally injurious to the pecuniary interests of the Company and the political interests of India. To carry on the trade would expose the Company to a destructive competition, which would render it a source of loss to all concerned, and the right of the Company to its commercial assets might be disputed, and their value reduced to insignificance, by being burthened with territorial debts, and debarred from the realisation of the demands which were justly due.¹ With regard to the Government of India, the Court, though very inefficient as an administrative body, would still retain powers that might be beneficially exerted for the good of India, and that would secure important influence, such as the appointment of Members of Council at the several Presidencies — the power concurrently with the Board, of appointing, and the absolute power of recalling, the Governor of India and other high functionaries; the power to repeal, alter, and amend the laws and regulations enacted by the Local Legislature, and other judicious and useful provisions. If the Company withdrew, what would be the result. It was to be apprehended, that the administration would fall into less experienced hands, that India would be overrun and disturbed by commercial and political adventurers, and that the integrity of the British constitution would exist only by the sufferance of the Minister who should hold an uncontrolled sway over twenty-two millions of annual revenue. If the Company should abdicate their functions, those evils to India which were most to be deprecated and dreaded, would probably be aggravated; for the Ministers would be justified in assuming the entire administration and patronage of the vast empire to gratify their political adherents, and

¹ Paper by H. St. George Tucker, Esq., in explanation of his dissent from the propositions of the Chair. Negotiations, Company's Charter p. 408.

advantage to the Company which might be secured by the monopoly of the China trade, its continuance was clearly irreconcilable with the interests of the nation, and it was the duty of those who presided over the affairs of the Empire to require its relinquishment as soon as the time agreed to it had been granted had expired.

plan of the Government of the Empire demanded quence held on the of the Company's mercantile character of the Court of Directors ally required the complete and final members were laid before it be some convenience in the with the recommendation of for remitting to England the moved by Mr. Randle Jackson, who carried on account of the entire concurrence of the General Court importance, com-jections entertained by the Court of Directors to the provisions of the Bill, yet, referring to past proceedings and looking to the difficult situation in which they were placed, declared it to be the intention of the proprietors to defer to the determination of the Legislature, relying on its wisdom and justice, in the event of the expectation held out by his Majesty's Ministers being disappointed, for such further legislative measures as the interests of India, and those of the East India Company, might require.

An amendment, declaring that the Proprietors could not, with justice to themselves or the people of India, consent to place their commercial charter in abeyance under the provisions of the Bill, was moved by Sir Charles Forbes; but it was rejected. A ballot was then demanded on the original motion, which took place on the 10th of August, and by a large majority decided the relinquishment by the Company of their commercial character, and their assent in the plan of the ministry for the future Government of British India. The Bill passed the House of Lords on the 19th of August, and received the Royal Assent on the 25th.

Thus finally closed the commercial existence of the

1 The Proprietors of East India Stock had demanded a vote of the House of Commons on the 10th of August, and this was given in favour of the Bill, more than two hundred votes.

For the question	201
Against it	51
Majority	150

BOOK III. reasons which induced the majority, while concurring in
 CHAP. IX. the objections of the Chairman and Deputy to many of the
 1833. provisions of the Bill, to recommend its acceptance to the
 Proprietors, were also put on record by several of the
 leading members of the Court, who adopted it as a lesser
 evil than its unqualified rejection; the result of which
 might be equally injurious to the pecuniary and rewarded
 the Company and the political interest. It distributed essen-
 carry on the trade would expose the and the power of
 destructive competition, which would be an ungrateful requital
 loss to all concerned, and the Company to deprive
 commercial assets might be their work, when they
 reduced to insignificance the recompense of their energy
 and the interests of the East India
 Company were necessarily subordinate to those of the
 Empire, or rather were identified with them; so that
 whatever they might be justly called upon to relinquish
 in their corporate character, they recovered in their capa-
 city of citizens of the same state. The general included
 the individual good, or if incompatible, the latter must
 necessarily be sacrificed to the former. The only question
 was, therefore, whether the discontinuance of the com-
 mercial character of the Company was for the benefit of
 the community; and upon this head no reasonable doubt
 could be entertained. The necessity of that consolidation
 of resources and unity of design which, as we have already
 had occasion to observe, was indispensable in the early state
 of the Company's commerce, had long ceased to exist; and
 nothing now obstructed the free participation of the Eng-
 lish merchant in the profits of Eastern commerce, except
 the privileges of his countrymen. No further benefit could
 accrue to the state from the prolonged inviolability of
 these monopolies; and they were productive of positive
 prejudice to its commercial interests. They obstructed
 the natural expansion of the commerce through the
 greater boldness—it might be rashness, of individual
 enterprise. They restricted the amounts of the export
 trade to limits which it was likely that more adventurous
 trade would overleap in China as it had done in India;
 and they kept up the cost of the principal import beyond
 the level to which it might be expected to be reduced by
 mercantile competition. Whatever the convenience or

advantage to the Company which might be secured by the monopoly of the China trade, its continuance was clearly irreconcilable with the interests of the nation, and it was the duty of those who presided over the affairs of the Empire to require its relinquishment as soon as the time for which it had been granted had expired.

If the commercial interests of the Empire demanded the discontinuance of the Company's mercantile character those of India equally required the complete and final severance of the incongruous functions of Sovereign and of Merchant. There might be some convenience in the command of a ready channel for remitting to England the means of paying the expenses incurred on account of the Indian territory ; but this was of little importance compared with the opportunity which the cessation of the trade afforded for the concentration of the attention of the Company on the great duty of well-governing India, undistracted by the incompatible, and sometimes conflicting, objects of commercial speculation.

The plan of appropriating the whole of the commercial assets of the Company, as at first proposed, to the territorial resources of India, in consideration of the grant of an annuity, secured upon its revenues, is not easily accounted for. The territory gained no advantage ; as, although it was relieved of a part of its liabilities, it was burthened with a heavy annual payment of perhaps rather more than equal amount, and the commerce reaped no benefit ; as there was offered only an annuity for a term of years, in place of an amount of capital yielding a larger income for ever. The arrangement consulted the benefit of neither party, and will probably be ultimately productive of embarrassment to both. The provision of a guarantee fund, enforced by the perseverance of the Directors, may remedy part of the inconvenience ; but the amount of the principal set apart was evidently insufficient. To most persons, it would have seemed to be the simpler and the honester process to have suffered the Company to realise and divide their capital, as far as their means extended, any surplus being applied, as legally applicable, to the discharge of the territorial debt. The only reason assigned by the President of the Board of

823. II. Control for not following this course, was the proposed
 .IX. continuance of the Government of India to the Company,
 upon the principle of their being connected with the
 country by a pecuniary interest. Without some such
 link, he observed, there could be no greater propriety in
 entrusting the administration of India to the Company
 than to any other incorporated association. Had this
 objection been insurmountable, there would probably have
 been no great difficulty in devising a preferable substitute;
 for, although the East India Company included a fair pro-
 portion of individuals well acquainted with India, and
 well fitted to be entrusted with the conservancy of its
 interests, yet, as a body, it was open to the imputations
 cast upon it in the House of Commons; and, in the ma-
 jority of its members, presented no peculiar adaptation to
 the important office which it was to be empowered to
 discharge.

Whatever might be thought of the unfitness of the East India Company, that of the Supreme Legislature had been most unequivocally exhibited in the course of the discussions upon the Renewal of the Company's Charter. It was not merely indifference with which the subject was treated in both Houses of Parliament; but feelings of impatience and disgust were unmistakably manifested upon almost every occasion in which the members were called upon to pronounce a decision essential to the well-being of the people of India, and to the most important interests, not of India alone, but, in connection with India, of the United Kingdom. That such a mood of the parliamentary mind is likely to be permanent is to be expected from the constitution of Parliament, the members of which are necessarily pre-occupied by details of more immediate and local, although frequently insignificant, importance, and who have neither the information requisite to form correct views of the condition and necessities of a remote and unknown region; nor enjoy the leisure, nor feel the obligation, to acquire it. As long as this ignorance, and its natural consequence, indifference, prevails, it is in vain to look to Parliament for a vigilant and wise guardianship of the affairs of India; and it will most assuredly ever evince a disposition to

resign the management entirely into the hands of the Minister of the day, who will thus be invested with absolute and uncontrolled authority over the Indian Government. That he will render such power subservient to the command of a dominant influence in Parliament, is nothing more than the necessary consequence of the dependance of ministerial vitality upon parliamentary majorities ; and an abuse of power can scarcely be avoided, unless a competent check be provided in the intermediate existence of an independent and influential body, interested in the welfare of our Indian Empire, competent to decide upon all questions affecting its prosperity and perpetuation, enjoying the confidence and support of the public, and commanding that weight in the deliberations of the Legislature, and the measures of the Administration of the day, which shall protect the people of India against the encroachments of the one and the negligence of the other. In which way this may best be accomplished, it may not be easy to determine ; but in the case under consideration, however imperfect might have been the organisation of the Company, it was fortunate that the Court of Proprietors, in concert with their executive representatives, the Court of Directors, were left in the enjoyment of their political power. An undue proportion was perhaps retained by the Board of Commissioners ; but the attempt of the ministers still further to enlarge the control of the Board, and to circumscribe the authority of the Directors was manfully and beneficially resisted.

It is unnecessary to repeat the objections which were urged to the proposed changes in the legislative powers, and the internal constitution of the Indian Government, which seem to have deterred the minister from carrying his plan into complete and consistent operation. The consolidation of the laws affecting the different races and religions of the people of India into one uniform system, was soon shewn to be an impracticable and a dangerous undertaking ; and it was scarcely necessary to have nominated a special and expensive commission for the purpose of inquiring into the powers of the existing courts, and the nature and operation of the laws in force, as these were subjects quite within the reach of the judicial ser-

BOOK III.

CHAP. IX.

1833.

HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

II. and who have always assiduously and earnestly laboured
x. for the good of the people. Nor have they laboured in
— vain. For, although the country has suffered, and must
ever suffer, many and great disadvantages from the substitution of strangers for its own functionaries, its own chiefs, its own sovereigns, it has been, in some degree, compensated for their loss, by exemption from the fatal consequences of native mis-rule — by protection against external enemies — by the perpetuation of internal tranquillity — by the assured security of person and of property — by the growth of trade — the increase of cultivation — and the progressive introduction of the arts and sciences, the intelligence and civilisation of Europe.

D

f

]

z

]

f

t

]

]

]

APPENDIX.

I.


PAGE 29.

Declaration on the part of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, 24th February, 1824.

During a long course of years, the relations of peace and friendship have been established between the Honorable East India Company and the state of Ava, by public engagements, and by the mutually beneficial intercourse of trade and commerce. The Supreme Government of India, scrupulously adhering to the obligation of public faith, and cordially solicitous to cultivate a good understanding with all surrounding states, has never ceased to manifest, in a special degree, its desire to cement and improve the relations of amity, subsisting with the Court of Ava. It is notorious, however, that, notwithstanding the uniformly pacific and conciliatory demeanour of the British Government, the sovereign of Ava has, in repeated instances, committed or sanctioned acts of provocation and aggression which have more than once placed the two countries on the brink of hostilities, and the natural consequences of which have been averted only by the moderation and forbearance of the British power, conscious of its superior strength and resources, and naturally disposed to make the largest allowances for the peculiar character of the people and the Government.

No. I.

Of late, the Burman monarch, emboldened by a career of successful encroachment against the petty states intervening between the two empires, and more especially elated by the conquest of Assam, has dared to offer injury to the British power, under circumstances of studied insult, menace, and defiance, such as no Government, alive to a sense of honour, and duly mindful of its safety and best interest, can suffer to pass un-avenged.



No. I. the discussion, would probably have been assented to by the British authorities, as an admissible compromise, where the object in dispute was so utterly worthless and unimportant.

The first impulse of the British Government, on learning the outrage at Shapuree, was naturally to take into its own hands the instant chastisement of its authors, by fitting out an expedition to attack any assailable points in Arracan. But various considerations induced the Governor-General, subsequently, to pause in the adoption of this course. On farther reflection, it appeared possible that the King of Ava might have been misled by false and interested reports, or that the name of their sovereign might have been used without authority by the Rajahs of Arracan and Ramre, whose intemperate and even insolent language had, on former occasions, excited the serious displeasure of the British Government. It was deemed, at all events, a step worthy the magnanimity of a powerful nation, and consistent with our uniform policy towards the state of Ava, to afford to the Burman monarch an opportunity of disavowing and making atonement for what we were willing to consider, in the first instance, as the unauthorized act of a subordinate authority. Under this view, a letter was addressed to the ministers of the King of Ava, in the form of a declaration on the part of the Governor-General, explaining in decided, but moderate language, the sentiments to which the occurrence at Shapuree had given rise on our part: demanding reparation for that outrage, by the disgrace and punishment of its immediate authors; and solemnly warning the Burman Government of the consequences which must inevitably attend a refusal to comply with this just demand, and to repress, in future, the insolence and hostility of tone which its local officers had invariably assumed at every point where they had come in contact with the British power, whether in Chittagong or Assam. Copies of this letter were forwarded to the capital of Ammerapoora, by two separate channels about the middle of November 18-2.

Conformably with the intention avowed in the letter to the Court of Ava the Governor-General in Council, at the same time despatched re-inforcements to Chittagong, in order to ensure the safety and restore the tranquillity of that district which had been so seriously disturbed by the conduct of the Burmese, and likewise to overpower any opposition that might be made to the re-occupation of the island of Shapuree. On the arrival of the force in the Naf river, the limited objects with

which it had been deputed, and the pacific intentions of the British Government pending the reference to the Court of Ava, were distinctly explained to the Arracanese authorities, both by the magistrate of the district, and the officer commanding the troops, and so perfectly disposed were the Burmese to credit our assurances, that an intercourse was speedily re-established between the officers and the functionaries of both states, on the most friendly and confident footing.

For a time hopes were entertained, that the difference with the Burmese might be amicably adjusted on terms consistent with the national honour, and that the Burman Government would consent to the definition of such a boundary between the two countries, as would obviate the future occurrence of disputes and misunderstanding on the south-east frontier.

About the middle of January, this pacific aspect of affairs was suddenly changed, and all friendly intercourse suspended, by the arrival of a military officer of the highest rank, at the head of large reinforcements, accompanied by two commissioners from the capital, vested with extensive powers, and bringing positive orders to dislodge the English, at whatever hazard, from the Island of Shapuree. The purport of these orders was ostentatiously proclaimed with a distinct intimation, that any attempt on our part to interrupt their execution, would be considered tantamount to a declaration of war between the two states. The first act of the commissioners was to cross over, in state, to the disputed island, obviously for the purpose of recovering a nominal possession; the British detachment having been previously withdrawn, in consequence of the unhealthiness of the spot. The following day, they succeeded in decoying to the shore two of the officers of the Honourable Company's armed vessels in the Nat, whom, with their boats crew, they treacherously seized, in defiance of the laws of good faith and hospitality, and imprisoned and detained them for nearly a month, expressly on the ground of their having anchored their ships off the island of Shapuree. Shortly afterwards, the standard of the Burman empire was hoisted by stealth, during the night, on the disputed ground, an act which, however contemptible in itself, must necessarily be regarded as a farther pledge of the obstinate determination of the Burman Government to carry its point, even at the known hazard of involving the two nations in war.

During all this period the King of Ava has maintained a

APPENDIX.

o. I. haughty and contemptuous silence on the subject of the remonstrance addressed to the Burmese Court more than three months back. The above document must have reached the capital some time previous to the deputation of the commissioners; and the Governor-General in Council is hence compelled to interpret the acts and declaration of those ministers, as the only answer which the Government of Ava deigns to return.

While the British territories on the southern frontier have been thus actually violated under circumstances of peculiar and aggravated insult, the language and proceedings of the Burmese, on the north-east frontier of Bengal, have evinced more extensive and mischievous designs of aggression, and leave no rational ground to doubt that the King of Ava has deliberately resolved to pursue the schemes avowed by his officers, in contempt of the rights and dignity, and in open defiance of the British Government.

For many years past, the parties dividing authority, and struggling for ascendancy in the Raj of Cachar, had incessantly applied to the British Government, soliciting it to interfere, as the paramount state, to settle the affairs of that country. Its internal dissensions had frequently disturbed the tranquillity of the adjoining district of Sylhet, and the Governor-General in Council having satisfied himself, that Cachar was altogether independent of the Burmese, and that the measure could afford no just ground of umbrage to that Government, adopted a resolution on the 19th of June last, to take the country avowedly under protection, on the usual conditions of political dependence. Whilst arrangements and negotiations were in train for defining the terms of our connection with the chief, whom it was determined to reinstate in possession, and who was residing under British protection within the Honourable Company's territory, intelligence arrived from Assam, that the Burmese were preparing an army to invade and conquer Cachar. The Governor-General's agent on the north-east frontier, lost no time in addressing letters to the Burmese governor of Assam, briefly apprising him of the nature of our views and measures in regard to the Raj of Cachar, and calling upon him to desist from any project of molesting that country. The outrage at Shapuree having in the interval occurred, the agent subsequently warned the Burman authorities, under the express instructions of Government, that their occupation of Cachar would not be permitted, as, independently of the resolution recently taken by

the British Government to protect that territory, it could not, without a culpable dereliction of duty, and a disregard of the plainest maxims of prudence, allow the Burmese to advance unopposed to a position, the command of which would so greatly facilitate the execution of the threat of invasion, repeatedly pronounced by their countrymen in other quarters. The only answer returned to these communications was that orders had arrived from the King of Ava, to follow up and apprehend certain Munniporian chiefs (peaceably residing within the British territory), wherever they might be found; that these orders would be executed without any respect to territory or jurisdiction; and that the Burmahs were not to be hindered from carrying into effect the mandates of their sovereign, by any opposition which the British authorities might offer.

It soon appeared, that an army had been assembled in the Burman dependency of Munnipore, as well as in Assam, for the execution of the fresh purpose of aggression now distinctly threatened.

On the advance of the invading force from the eastward, the acting magistrate of Sylhet addressed letters of remonstrance, under the orders of Government, to the military chiefs in command, of a purport and tendency similar to those which had been previously transmitted to the commander of the forces in Assam.

Totally disregarding, however, the intimation thus explicitly given by the British Government of its determination to resist their occupation of Cachar, on grounds the justice of which cannot be questioned, and anxious only to effect their object of concentrating a large army on the immediate frontier of the Company's possessions, the parties from the northward and eastward hurried on, by forced marches, in avowed defiance of our remonstrances, and effected a junction at Jatrapore, only five miles from the frontier of Sylhet, where they entrenched themselves in extensive and formidable stockades. Happily, a party of observation had been advanced to the frontier on the first intelligence of the near approach of the forces of the King of Ava, of sufficient strength to keep them in check, and prevent any actual violation of the British territory in that quarter. But the injury already sustained by their advance has been serious, no less to the suffering country of Cachar, than to the district of Sylhet, throughout which a general alarm has been spread, causing many of our Ryots to abandon their homes, and materially impeding the collection of the public revenue.

No. I. The conduct and declarations of the Burman commander on the Sylhet frontier have unequivocally disclosed, if indeed any further proofs were wanting, the ambitious designs and insufferable arrogance of the Court of Ava.

After long detaining and grossly insulting the rakeel, and successive messengers deputed to their camp by the Governor-General's agent, they notified in a letter to Mr. Scott, that they had entered the country of Cachar to restore the Rajah, and to follow up and seize the Munnipoorian chiefs wherever they might be found, knowing well 'at the time, that the whole of those chiefs had obtained an asylum within the British provinces. "Should (they observed) Chorjeet, Marjeet, and Gumbheer Sing, and the Cossayers enter the English territories, apprehend and deliver them, to save any breach of friendship. So doing, no rupture will take place, and the commercial intercourse now in existence will continue. If the Cossayers enter the English territories, and their surrender is refused, and if they receive protection, be it known, that the orders of the most fortunate sovereign are, that, without reference to any country, they must be pursued and apprehended."

Whilst occupying their threatening position in Cachar, the generals of the King of Ava had, moreover, planned the conquest of Jyntia, another petty chiefship situated similarly with Cachar in regard to the British frontier; but which having formerly been restored as a gift to the Rajah's family by the British Government, after a temporary convulsion, was more distinctly recognised as a dependency of Bengal. The Rajah of Jyntia, in a letter addressed to him by the Burmese commanders, was called upon to acknowledge submission and allegiance to the King of Ava, and to repair forthwith to the Burman camp. A demonstration was further actually made against Jyntia, to enforce the above requisition, when the British troops frustrated the execution of this hostile and menacing encroachment.

Two successive checks sustained by the armies of his Burmese Majesty on the Sylhet frontier, at length induced their partial retreat from the threatening position which they had taken up taken up in that quarter. One party, however, still maintains its position in Cachar, and the retirement of the Assamese force, which had taken post more immediately on the British frontier, has been made under circumstances indicating no retractation of the hostile designs of the government. The officers and men also of the Honourable Company's armed

vessel *Sophia* have been released; but no kind of apology or explanation of their detention has been offered by the chiefs who committed that outrage.

From the foregoing detail it will be evident, that in a season of profound peace, and wholly without provocation, the Court of Ammerapoorra has grossly and wantonly violated the relations of friendship so long established between the two states; and by the hostile conduct and language of its officers, and the actual advance of its forces to several and widely distant points of our frontier, has compelled the British Government to take up arms not less in self-defence, than for the assertion of its rights, and the vindication of its insulted dignity and honour.

The scornful silence maintained by the sovereign of Ava, after the lapse of so many months, and the commission of renewed outrages and insults in the interval, obviously by his sanction and command, evince, that all prospect of an honourable and satisfactory adjustment of our differences, by correspondence and negotiation, is at an end. At the same time, the season for military operations is rapidly passing away; and it hence becomes indispensable, whilst an effort may yet be made, to adopt measures, without delay, for repelling the dangers which menace the eastern districts, and for placing the safety of our frontier beyond the reach of the caprice and violence of the Burman monarch.

The Governor-General in Council has therefore ordered the advance of the force assembled at Gowalpareh, into the territory of Assam, to dislodge the enemy from the commanding position which they occupy at the head of the Burhampooter, and is prepared to pursue such other measures of offensive warfare as the honour, the interests, and the safety of the British Government demand recourse to at the present crisis.

Anxious, however, to avert the calamities of war, and retaining an unfeigned desire to avail itself of any proper opening which may arise for an accommodation of differences with the King of Ava, before hostilities shall have been pushed to an extreme length, the British Government will be prepared even yet to listen to pacific overtures on the part of his Burmese Majesty, provided that they are accompanied with the tender of adequate apology, and involve the concession of such terms as are indispensable to the future security and tranquillity of the eastern frontier of Bengal.—By command of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council,

GEORGE SWINTON, Secretary

II.

PAGE 81.

Proclamation by Brigadier-General Sir Archibald Campbell, K.C.B., and K.C.T.S., Commander of the English Army; December, 1824.

No. II. Inhabitants of Pegu! What folly can actuate you to attempt any further opposition to the British arms: you know and have seen how weak and contemptible all the efforts of the Burma army have proved in combat with the troops I have brought against them.

Against you, inhabitants of the ancient kingdom of Pegu, and the noble Talien race, we do not wish to wage war. We know the oppression and tyranny under which you have been labouring for a length of time by the cruel and brutal conduct of the Burmese Government towards you. They acknowledge you by no other title than the degrading and ignominious appellation of Slaves. Compare, therefore, your condition with the comfort and happiness of the four maritime provinces, Mergui, Ye, Tavoy and Martaban, now under the protection of the English flag: follow their example to enjoy their blessings, by placing yourselves under my protection: it is a duty you owe to your aged and infirm parents, to all your female relatives, your wives and innocent children, instead of keeping them and yourselves in constant terror of your lives, and like wild beasts frequenting the jungles; and that in trying to support the hopeless cause of your merciless conquerors, the Burmese. Choose from among yourselves a Chief, and I will acknowledge him.

III.

PAGE 147.

Death of Dowlat Rao Sindhia. Extract from the despatch of Major Stewart, Resident, Gwalior, 22nd March, 1827. Sutherland's Political Sketches, p. 155.

No. III. "About nine o'clock yesterday morning, a horseman came at full speed from the Maha Raja's camp to the residency, with a message from Hindoo Rao, stating that the Maha Raja had

expressed an anxious wish to see me, and begging that I would as soon as possible proceed to the palace. Conceiving that the Maha Raja must be in his last moments, I instantly mounted a horse, and, accompanied by Captain Dyke alone, I reached the palace in a very short time after I had received this message. I found an anxious crowd outside, and all the chiefs and people of respectability assembled in the different apartments of the palace. As soon as I met Hindoo Rao, I anxiously inquired after the Maha Raja. Hindoo Rao said that he was very ill, and that I should see him immediately, etc., etc. During this conversation, messages were carried backwards and forwards, from the interior apartments, where the Maha Raja was, and it was at last announced that H. H. was ready to receive me. I proceeded to his apartment, accompanied by Hindoo Rao, Raojee Khosjee Walla, Atmaram Pundit, and perhaps there were one or two more. Captain Dyke also accompanied me. H. H. lay or rather reclined, on a couch supported by pillows, and a number of female servants were in attendance around him. Behind a Purdah close to him were Baeza Bae, Rookma Bae, and Bala Bae, and their attendants. I was much shocked to observe the sad change that had taken place in the Maha Raja's appearance: his arms and upper part of his body had become quite emaciated; his belly and lower extremities were greatly swollen.

I went up to him, took his hand in mine, and leant over him, so as to hear what he might say. He remained silent for some time, apparently unable to speak. At last he said, in a distinct and audible voice, so as to be heard by every one present, and even I believe behind the Purdah, I wish you to do whatever you think proper (*"Jo toom moonasib jano so hwo"*). I replied, that everything should be arranged according to His Highness's wishes, and I added some words of consolation, and said, I trusted by the blessing of God he would yet recover. He appeared affected, and said, By the sign of you and your friendship (*"Ap he dilim sa, aur ap he moribbet se"*), but he could not finish the sentence. A long pause now ensued, and I at last said, "Is there anything else that your Highness would wish to say to me?" He replied, I have a great deal to say to you (*"Bhantara sa huna hy"*). But after waiting a considerable time he could add no more. I then proposed to retire into another room for a short time, and to return when His Highness might revive a little, and be able to speak. This was agreed to by all present. When I was about to retire, I heard the voice

No. III. of Baeza Bae suggesting that Dr. Panton should be sent for. I asked the Maha Raja if it was his wish that that gentleman should be called, when His Highness made a faint sign of assent.

"I have been thus particular in giving the expressions used by the Maha Raja on this occasion, as they were probably the last words he uttered. I had not retired above an hour to an upper apartment, when the screams of females announced that the Maha Raja's life had fled.

"It would be difficult for me to give any adequate notion of the scene that ensued; the cries of women and the lamentations of men, the uproar, and the tumult, were beyond all description.

"With reference to what I have stated in the last paragraph of my letter of the 20th instant, I immediately determined to remain at the palace till the Maha Raja's body should be carried to the funeral pile; and a request to that effect was also made to me by Hindoo Rao, and the other principal persons present. It was very satisfactory to me to find, that though there was a great appearance of grief, there were none of the appearances that indicated an intended Sutttee. When a woman intends to ascend the funeral pile of her husband, her grief assumes a more sublime character: she sheds no tears, she makes no lamentation, she lays aside her veil, and no longer conceals herself from the sight of men. There were none of these signs. When, therefore, I was informed that the Baeza Bae had declared she would follow the Maha Raja, I was certain that it would not be difficult to restrain her. For this purpose, however, I was called on to speak to the lady, with only a thin piece of cloth held up by two females between us.

"It is not necessary to detail all that was said on this occasion. I terminated the discussion by assuming the authority which the Maha Raja's dying declaration had, I said, given me, and I desired that she would withdraw to her own apartments. She was at last dragged away by her female attendants. Shortly after, a memorandum consisting of seven articles was brought to me, purporting to be the Maha Raja's last will but not bearing his signature, the principal of which were, the Maha Raja's declared intention to adopt a son; the appointment of Hindoo Rao to be the superintendent, and another person to be the Mookhtar. In case of the birth of a son, he is to be heir to the possessions; "and," it is added, "that the adopted son shall be

obedient to the orders of the Maha Raja and the Baeza Bacc as long as they live." For the fulfilment of all these intentions he appeals to the support of the British Government.

"It was a singular and melancholy sight to see the Maha Raja dressed in his last apparel, adorned with jewels and pearls, seated in his palankeen with his face uncovered, as if still alive, accompanied by all his state-elephants and led horses, set out on this last procession. He was accompanied to the funeral pile by almost every man in camp; and the tears of the multitude showed, that however deficient in many of the qualities of a good prince, he was neither a cruel nor a tyrannical sovereign. The Maha Raja was by no means deficient in understanding, to which, indeed, he owed the salvation of his state amid the wreck of the Mahratta Empire. In conversation, the comparisons and illustrations he used were frequently very striking and happy. His temper was mild and gentle in the extreme, though his courage was never doubted. Whatever may have been the vices and crimes of his youth (and these I believe are more to be ascribed to evil counsellors than to himself), his latter years have been unmarked by any gross violation of morality. Apathy and indolence were his besetting faults, which through life prevented him from ever executing the duties of a sovereign with efficiency. On the whole, when it is considered that he was raised to a sovereignty at that time the most extensive in India, at the early age of fourteen, and that he was brought up from childhood amid the scenes of treachery and rapacity that characterise a Mahratta camp, it is easy to find an excuse for many of the errors and vices of his reign. If in any part of this despatch I have transgressed the rules of official correspondence, I trust the occasion will plead my excuse. I should be insensible indeed, if I could, with feelings unmoved, report the death of a chief whom I have so long known, and with whom I may of late be said to have been on terms of intimacy. Nor is it the least affecting circumstance attending his death, that the last act of his life showed his unbounded confidence in the justice and generosity of the British Government."

No. IV. Sing, who, when the Khusruh measurement was taking place had caused him to be apprehended in the Foujdaree Court on a false accusation, and had, through collusion with the Putwaree got this land measured as his (the Lumberdar's) property. We remarked to the Collector that the complainant appeared to excite great interest among the Zemindars; and he, after hearing the statement of both parties, which were of course contradictory directed that any man who could speak in favour of the petitioner's claim should come forward and avow his knowledge. On this a confused murmur arose, and every one seemed to speak in favour of the petitioner; but the Collector, not being satisfied that he distinctly apprehended them, ordered all who were persuaded of the justice of the claim to stand up. On this the whole multitude stood up *en masse*. Nevertheless, apprehensive that they might possibly have misunderstood his question he directed them all again to be seated. When they were all level, and scarcely one head appeared above the other, all those who considered the petitioner's claim to be unjust, were ordered to stand up. But not a soul rose in favour of the oppressor and the Collector having examined the Putwaree's accounts minutely, and ascertained that the petitioner had been in possession of the land, of course directed his reinstatement, and excluded, with the concurrence of the proprietors, Maharaj Sing from the future management of the village. Sibba was allowed to succeed him. The air was rent with acclamations at this summary, expeditious, and certain mode of dispensing justice and one's heart rejoiced to see a simple and uncorrupted people (because they were happily nescient of Courts and their injurious influences) so enthusiastic and unanimous in defending the poor and helpless against "the proud man's contumely."

Cases on which evidence was requisite, were disposed of by the Collector's own order, or reference to a more private Panchayat; but all questions into which the Pergunna Zemindars might be supposed to have entered, and which could not have escaped their observation, were referred in this manner to the public sense of the meeting; and really the unbought and unsolicited testimony of three or four thousand peers must come very near the truth; and at any rate must be more trustworthy than the *Gunga Jullie* oath of two paid witnesses.

-V.

PAGE 264.

Statement of the Nawab Mehndi Ali Khan. From the Mofussil Akhbar. Asiatic Monthly Journal, December, 1833.

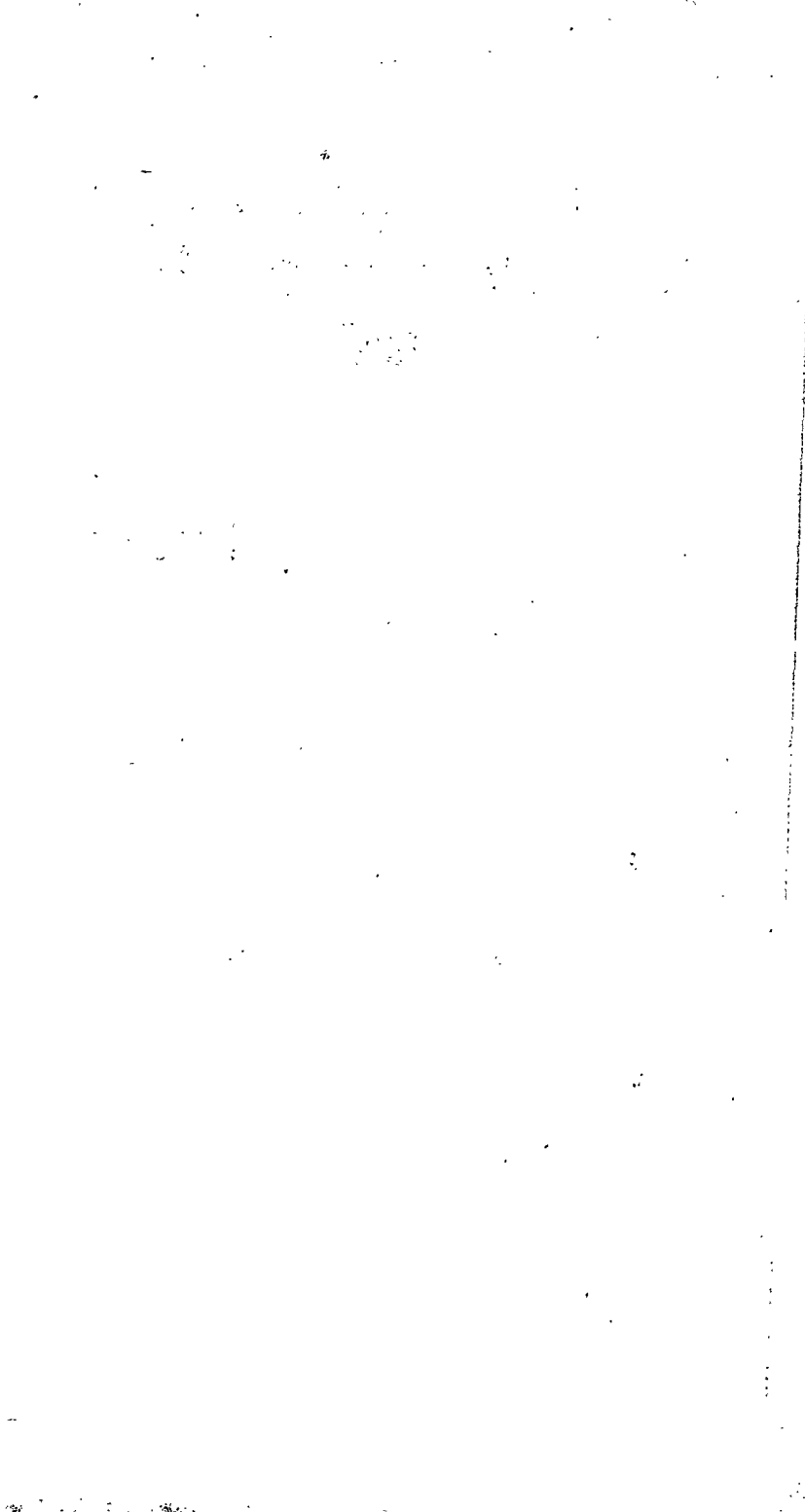
No. V.

"In appealing to the opinion of the public, I profess that I am solely actuated by a desire to do myself justice; and I disclaim every intention of wishing to draw conclusions inimical to the character of any one: facts as they are here related speak for themselves, and they are sufficiently clear to show the injustice with which I have been treated through the intrigues of certain interested persons at the Court in Lucknow.

"While residing at Furrackabad, in retirement, in the hope of passing the remainder of my life in quietness, I received two firmans from the King of Oude; the first stating that Mr. Maddock had, at the King's request, applied to the British Government for its sanction to my accepting office. Having resided at Futtighur for nearly twelve years, I considered myself a subject of the Honourable Company, and consequently thought it my duty to submit, for the information of that Government, the communication made to me by his Majesty; I immediately transmitted a copy of the firman in question to Mr. Secretary Sterling, who, according to custom, forwarded the same to the Resident at his Majesty's court.

"At the expiration of twenty days, I received a second firman from his Majesty, stating that he had received the Resident's permission to send for me, and directing me to repair to Court. A copy of this order I forwarded to Mr. Maddock, and immediately left Futtighur for Lucknow. On my arrival, I waited upon his Majesty, who received me with much kindness; and some days afterwards invested me with the usual dress of honour, elephant, palkee, etc. Upon this occasion, his Majesty directed me to wait on Mr. Maddock. I did so; when the Resident informed me, that, in obedience to the will of his Majesty, I was to conduct the affairs of government in the character of Prime Minister.

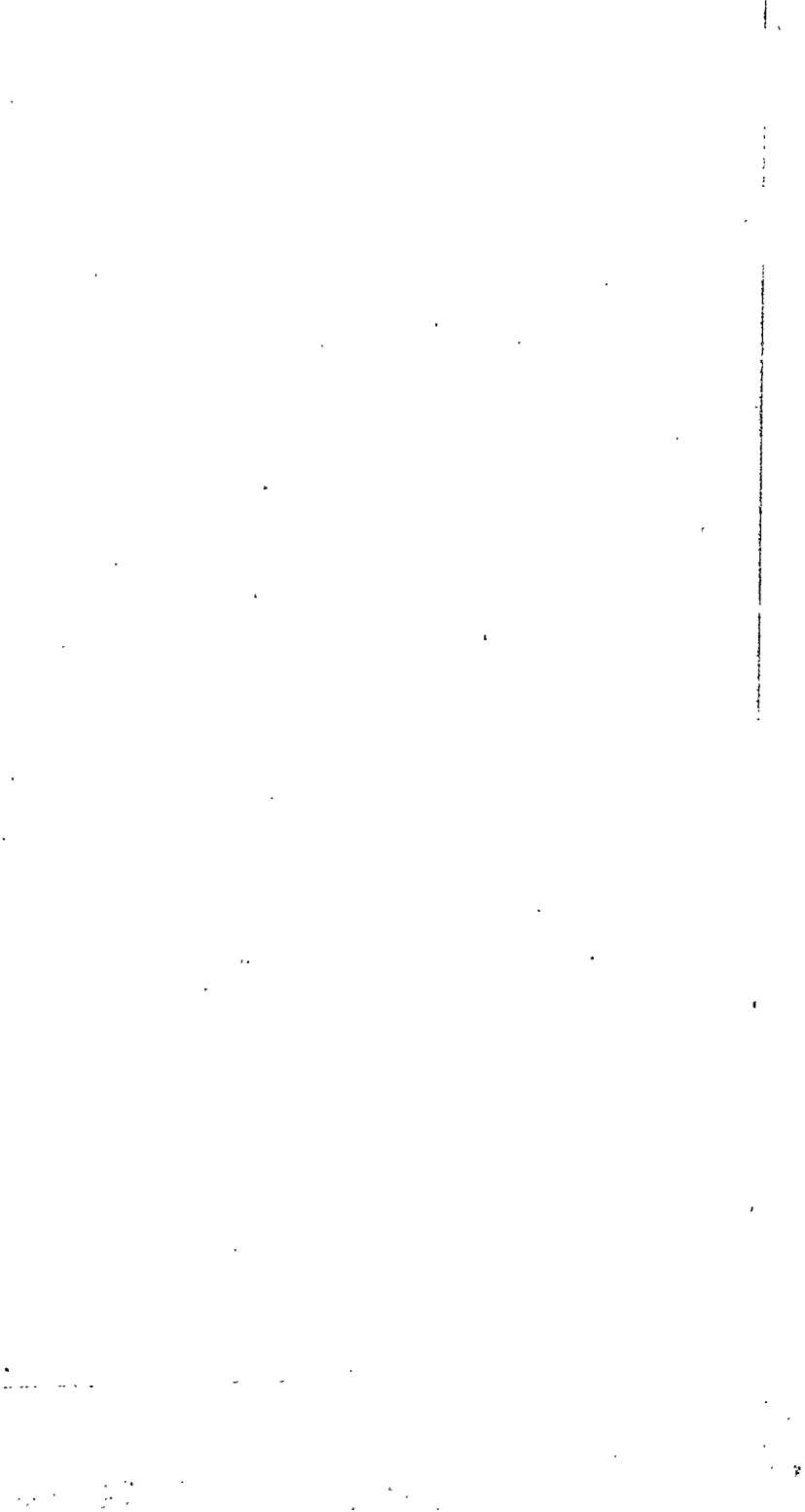
"At this period, Akbar Alli Khan (son of Haidar Beg Khan), Ikbal ood Dowla (son of Captain Futteh Ali), and Mewa Ram, who were conducting the affairs of the state, were, by order of his Majesty, removed from office, and prohibited from attending the durbar.



THE HISTORY
OF BRITISH INDIA,
BY
MILL & WILSON.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. X.



THE HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

BY

JAMES MILL, ESQ.,

AND

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A., F.R.S.,

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF PARIS, BOSTON AND CALCUTTA,
AND OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY OF GERMANY; OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, AND THE
IMPERIAL ACADEMIES OF VIENNA AND ST. PETERSBURGH; OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES
OF BERLIN AND MUNICH, ETC., ETC.; AND HODEN PROFESSOR OF
SANSKRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

VOL. X.—INDEX.

LONDON:

JAMES MADDEN, 3, LEADENHALL STREET;
PIPER, STEPHENSON, AND SPENCE,
PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCCLVIII.

- cause of the mother of Meer Munnoo, and takes Delhi, 332. Opposed by the Selks and Mahrattas, loses his provinces of Lahore and Multan, 333. Defeats in two battles, and nearly destroys the Mahratta army, 336. Places Alee Gohur on the throne of Delhi and retires to Cabul, 337. Further mention of, iii. 179.
- Ahmed, Deccan sovereign, reign of, ii. 246.
- Ahmed Khan Bungush, chief of Furrukhabad, joins the party of Gazee ad Dien, ii. 333.
- Ahmed, Hajee, account of, iii. 109.
- Ahmed Shah, succeeds his father, Mahomed Shah, ii. 327. His reign chiefly occupied by the incursions of the Rohillas and Abdallee Afghans, 328. His person seized by his Vizir, and a son of Jehander set up in his stead, 331.
- Ahmedabad, taken by Goddard, iv. 39.
- Ahmedabad Beder, kingdom in Deccan, founded by Ameer Bereed, ii. 248.
- Ahmednugger formed into a province of the Mogul Empire, ii. 249. Division of its sovereignty between Mallek Umber and Rajoo Minnaun, 261. Fort of, taken by General Wellesley, vi. 361.
- Ajeet Sing, forms an alliance with Jey Sing, and slackens in obedience to Shah Anlum, ii. 301. Being invited to court to act against the Seyd brothers, joins their party, 312.
- Akbar, the first who coined gold and silver for circulation in India, ii. 145. Account of his early years, 235. His generous treatment of a captive Vizir, 237. Instances of his generous conduct after ascending the throne, 238. Rebellions with which he had to contend, 240. Berar ceded to him, 248. Adds Ahmednugger to his empire, 249. His death, *ibid.*
- Akbar, youngest son of Aurungzeb, intention of his father to make him his successor, ii. 279. Revolts, 295. Departs from the Mahratta country for Persia, 296.
- Alamparva, taken by the English, iii. 180.
- Alee Gohur, for an asylum against Gazee ad Dien, betakes himself to the English in Bengal, ii. 334.
- Alexander, his expedition not known to the Hindus, i. 117. His conquests in India, ii.
- Algebra, Hindu knowledge of, derived from the Greeks, ii. 100—101, note. Sanscrit Algebra. See Colebrook
- Algebraic signs, question of their origin examined, ii. 98
- Ali Jah, son of Nizam Ali, his revolt, vi. 25
- Ali Mahomed Khan, founder of the power of the Rohillas, account of, ii. 324. Districts under his authority, 325. Dies, 328
- Ali Mirza Mohammed, account of, iii. 109
- Aliverdi Khan, his early exploits in Bahar and Bengal, iii. 110. His intrepid attack of the Mahrattas, and glorious retreat,
111. Drives the Mahrattas several times from his dominions, *ibid.* Dies at an advanced age, 113. Policy of his conduct in quelling rebellion, 188.
- Alla, nephew of Feroze, his first invasion of Deccan, ii. 200. Murders or imprisons nearly the whole family of his uncle, 200. His farther invasions of the Deccan, 201. Dies, 203
- Alla Hussun, account of, previous to his ascending the throne, ii. 211. The founder of the Bhamenee dynasty, 212. Character of his reign, 212
- Alla, son of Mahomed, resigns the throne of Delhi, and accepts the government of Budaon, ii. 222
- Alla, son of Ahmed, sovereign in the Deccan, reign of, ii. 244
- Allahabad, fortress of, taken by the English, iii. 284. Ceded to the Emperor, 286. Sold by the English to the Nabob of Oude, 397
- Allan, Major, sent to Tippoo Saib and his family, to urge the policy of their surrender, vi. 96
- Alliance, defensive, Marquis Wellesley's account of the benefits arising from, vi. 380. His account investigated, 338. Opinion of Lord Cornwallis concerning the system of such alliances, 431
- Allighur, battle of, vi. 350. Fort of, taken by the English, 351
- Alorus, Chaldean king, extent of his reign, i. 115, note
- Alphabet of the Hindus, letters of, hieroglyphics, ii. 98, note
- Altumsh, Emperor, account of, ii. 186
- Amantas, sciences taught by, in the Peruvian schools, ii. 113, note
- Amar Singh, Prince of Odipore, his contests with the army of Jehangir, ii. 352
- Amboyna, claim of the Dutch to, by priority of occupancy, i. 31. Trial and execution of Captain Towerson and other Englishmen, at, 36. Torture practised by the Dutch at, on occasion of those trials, 37. Emotions excited in England in consequence of the Dutch cruelties, 38. Commissioners appointed to adjust the claims of the two nations, and prescribe satisfaction for the massacres, 56. Amount of the award to the heirs of the sufferers, 56. Dutch settlements at, taken by the English, vi. 49
- Ameer Sing, Rajah of Tanjore, dethroned by the English, vi. 217. Dies, 244
- Ammonians, considered the cow as sacred and oracular, i. 296
- Amusements, nature of those of the Hindus, i. 336
- Amyat, Mr., chief of the English factory at Patna, iii. 201. Dissatisfied with the appointment of Vansittart to the Presidency of Bengal, 217. Sent on a mission to Meer Casim, 237. On his return refus-

- ing to be stopped, is killed in the struggle, 240
- Ananpore, English accused of cruelty in the reduction of, iv. 188
- Anatomy, practice of, carefully avoided by the Hindus, ii. 81, note
- Aldercon, Colonel, charged with setting fire unnecessarily to the town of Wandewash, iii. 142
- Anderson, Dr., on the subject of a free trade to India, quoted, i. 61, note
- Anderson, Mr. David, examined on the trial of Mr. Hastings, v. 137
- Anglo-Saxons, punishment observed by, i. 176, note. Rudeness and indelicacy practised by, 321, note. Language of, said to be that spoken by Adam and Eve in Paradise, ii. 65
- Angria, Mahratta pirate, account of, iii. 120
- Animals, superstitious estimation in which they were held by the Hindus and other nations, i. 296, 469
- Anstruther, Mr., sums up the first charge on the trial of Mr. Hastings, v. 86—90. Proceeds on the charge relating to presents, 122
- Anunderauz, Rajah, expedition against the Circars, undertaken at his instigation, iii. 197
- Anwar ad Dien, Nabob of Carnatic, marches against Madras, and is defeated by the French, iii. 51. Abandons the English and makes peace with the French, 54. Suspected as the murderer of Seid Mahomed, 69. Slain in battle at the advanced age of 107 years, 71
- Appeal, Courts of. See Courts
- Appendix to Mr. Hasting's trial, v. 200. Comments on the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons contained in it, 215
- Approximate signs, Hindus acquainted with, but ignorant of the principles of the operation, ii. 89
- Aqueducts, skill of the Indians in, ii. 20, note
- Arabians, progress of, in science, ii. 53. Their algebraic signs, 79
- Arabs, opinions of some authors respecting, ii. 111, and note.
- Arachne, celebrated by the Greeks and Romans as the place where weaving was invented, ii. 13
- Araucanians, names given to the Supreme Being by, i. 236, note². Their skill in the invention of games, ii. 31
- Aravarcourchy, reduced by the English, iv. 195
- Arbitration, greater part of Hindu lawsuits determined by, i. 200, note.
- Archangel, consequence of its first discovery by Chancellour, i. 5
- Arches, Hindus ignorant of, till they learned the construction from their Moslem conquerors, ii. 10
- Architecture of the Hindus, ii. 2, 8, 10. Of other rude nations, 7, 5, 9, and notes.
- Arcot, taken by the English under Clive, iii. 84. Taken by the French under Lally, 163. Retaken by the English, 179. Taken by Hyder Ali, iv. 142. Attempts of the English to recover it, 150. For Nabobs of, see Doost Ali, Anwar ad Dien, Mahomed Ali, and Omdut ul Omrah.
- Argaum, battle of, vi. 371
- Ariancopang, English wholly ignorant of it when attacking Pondicherry, iii. 57.
- Arikera, battle of, v. 272
- Aristotle, quoted on the division of nations into classes, i. 140, note. On the subject of legislation, vi. 163, note.
- Arithmetical characters, inquiry by whom invented, ii. 93
- Armegaum, factory established at, by the East India Company, i. 42
- Armenians, as agents, preferred by the East India Company to their own servants, i. 89
- Army, East Indian, mutiny in, at Bombay, i. 78, 83. Mutiny in, at Patna, iii. 246. Stations of, on the conclusion of the war with Suja Dowla, 294. Discontent of the officers of, in consequence of the reduction of military allowance, 295. Conspiracy, the result of this measure, defeated, 298
- Arnee, attempt of the English to reduce it, unsuccessful, iv. 175
- Arracan, Rajah of, betrays Suja, who had sought refuge in his kingdom, ii. 277
- Arsacides, dynasty of, changed, ii. 169
- Arts, man, in a state of nature, governed in his invention of, by his wants, ii. 1. The Hindus celebrated only for three, architecture, weaving, and jewellery, 2. State of the fine arts with the Hindus, 25. In the arts of architecture and weaving, Hindus inferior to Mohammedans, 367
- Asaph, Governor of Corah, his revolt against Akbar, ii. 240
- Asoph Jah, brother to the Sultana, Noor Mahl, made Vizir by Jehangire, ii. 254. His attempt to recover Jehangire when taken by Mohâbet, 257. Enters into the plans of Mohâbet against Jehangire, 259. Appointed Vizir to Shah Jehan, 260
- Assada merchants, what, i. 53. Petition against joint-stock management, 54
- Assal, ground-rents in India so denominated, iii. 367
- Assam, account of the country and its inhabitants, ii. 159
- Assye, battle of, vi. 365
- Astrology, attachment of the Hindus to, i. 341. From whom their astrology was borrowed, ii. 99, and note,
- Astronomie Indienne, by M. Bailly, character of the work, ii. 68. Further examination of it, 87—93
- Astronomy, knowledge of the Hindus in, disputed, ii. 68. Hindu books of, a proof

punished before trial, 309. Character of the evidence against, *ibid.* Their treasure seized, 319. Their eunuchs tortured, 321, and note. Further transactions relative to the Begums, 339. Decision of the Court of Directors, 341. Their jaghires restored to them, 357. Conduct of Mr. Hastings towards them, one of the articles in his impeachment, v. 54

Bellecombe, M., his gallant defence of Pondicherry, iv. 114

Beloli, account of, previous to his ascending the throne, ii. 222. Taken from his mother's womb after her death, 223. His character, 224

Beloli, Mohamed, great grandfather of Hyder Ali, account of, iii. 320

Belus, sepulchre of, ii. 7

Benares, Chetty Sing, Rajah of, his connexion with the English East India Company, iv. 255. History of the Rajahship, 256, note. Demands made on him by Mr. Hastings, 261. Justice of Mr. Hastings' demands examined, 267. Tumults in consequence of his arrest, 278. Escapes from his guards, 278. His conduct after his escape, 280. Is deposed, 284. His wife, mother, and princesses of his house shamefully treated and plundered, 286. Sentiments of the Court of Directors respecting his treatment, 288. Protected by Scindia and appointed to a command in his army, v. 16

Benares, meeting at, of Mr. Hastings and the Nabob of Oude, *ibid.* 399. New government framed for, iv. 284. Deplorable state of, as expressed by Mr. Hastings in a subsequent visit, 356. Deputy of, dismissed, and his predecessor imprisoned by Mr. Hastings, 356

Bennet, Paul, his situation at Madras, as one of the servants of the East India Company, and money agent, iv. 89. With a small salary pretends to have advanced £234,000 to the Nabob of Tanjore and others, *ibid.* His claim rejected by the government of Madras, 90. Further discussion of his claim, 91. His character, 363. His intrigues with the Nabob of Arcot to impede the collection of the revenue, 363. Sends eight members to parliament, v. 22. Sums gained by him, 24. Lord Macartney's opinion of his conduct in India, 30, note

Bengal, first important privileges obtained by the English in, i. 56. Agency by the East India Company first established in, 58. First war of the English with the native powers in, 84. The inhabitants of, characterised as perfect in timidity, 329. Added to the Mohammedan dominions, ii. 85. Invaded by an army of Mogul Tartars, 188. Rebellion in, by Toghrih, subdued by Balin, 194. Government of, usurped by Shir, the Afghaan, 209. Pro-

ceedings of Akbar against, 242. Invaded from the kingdom of Assam, 265. Invaded by the Rajah of Arracan, 283. Proceedings in, under Shah Anlum, Jaffer Khan, and Ferokhsere, iii. 22. State of, under Suraja Dowla, 109. English government of, remodelled, 193. English expedition from, to drive the French out of the Northern Circars, 196, 246. Invaded by the Nabobs of Oude and Allahabad, 202. Large reinforcements sent to the Dutch settlements in, defeated by the English, 204. Political state of in 1760, 212. Clive resigns the government of. See Clive. Afflicted by a famine which destroys more than a third of its inhabitants, 340. State and temper of the government of, on the appointment of Mr. Hastings, 366, 375. Situation of, with respect to the neighbouring powers, 382. Financial condition of, 407. Force sent from across India to Bombay, iv. 25, 31. Statements of its revenues, 357, note. Views of the government of, and those of Madras respecting the designs of Tippoo Saib, v. 241. State of its police, as given by Mr. Dowdeswell, 405.

Benn, Mr., examined on Mr. Hastings's trial, v. 86

Bentham, Mr., his Treatise on Scotch Reform, referred to, v. 48, note.

Bently, his opinions of the Hindu astronomy controverted by Mr. Playfair, ii. 69. Credit due to his opinions, 89

Berar, kingdom in Deccan, by whom founded, ii. 247. Ceded to Akhbar, 248. Revolts, and is subdued by Shah Jehan, 267. Desire of the English to form a connexion with the government of, iv. 27. Situation of the Regent of, between the English, and the united power of Hyder Ali and Nizam Ali, 129. Rajah of, joins in hostilities with Scindia, iv. 304. Negotiations of the British government with, 376. Treaty with, concluded, 380

Bernier, M., on the Hindu epochs, quoted, i. 108, note. On the tenure of land, 214, note. On the absurdities of the Hindu religion, 324, note. On the Fakeers, 341, note. On the ignorance of the Pundits, ii. 81, note. On the malady of Shah Jehan, 269, note. On the date of Aurungzeb's illness, 279. On the mode of death by the pousta, 283, note. On the buccannier character of the Portuguese in India, 283, note.

Bhagvat-Geeta, chapter from, on the display of the divine nature in the form of the universe, i. 267, note.

Bhamanee dynasty, founder of, ii. 212

Bhao, killed in the battle of the Dooranees with the Mahrattas, ii. 337

Bhascara, Hindu mathematician, antiquity of his treatises on Astronomy questioned, ii. 102

hour, amount of his force, acting with Lord Cornwallis, v. 277. Operations of, against Tippu Sahib, 291.

Bhurtpore, Rajah of, one of the allies of the British, John Holkar, vi. 479. Fortress of, unsuccessfully attacked, 423. Account of the siege of, 425, note. Accommodation with the Rajah of, 429.

Bickerton, Sir Richard, arrives with a reinforcement at Malabar, iv. 181.

Biggour, capitulates to the English, vi. 283.

Birmans, singular idea of, on the remoteness of antiquity, i. 107, notes. A robust and active people, 333, note. Their religion, laws, and literature, ii. 158, 159. Resemblance, of, to the Hindus, 160, note.

Birmingham, rapid increase of its manufactures in the early part of the eighteenth century, iii. 17.

Birth, ceremonies observed by the Hindus previously and subsequently to, i. 361. Second birth, what so denominated by them, 362.

Black Hole at Calcutta, used as a prison by the English, previously to the unfortunate catastrophe for which it is celebrated, iii. 117, and note. Crime of that catastrophe extenuated, 118, note.

Blackstone, quoted on equality of punishments, i. 181, note.

Blair, Lieut.-Col., sent against the refractory Zemindars of Oude, vi. 197.

Bokhara, celebrated university of, ii. 342.

Bombay, ceded by the Portuguese to Charles the Second, and by him to the East India Company, i. 66. Revolt at, 181. Elevated to the dignity of a regency, 23. Presidency of, at variance with the Supreme Council. See Supreme Council.

Bondia, Jandee, leaves with, recommended to the English, by Hyder Ali, iv. 56.

Bondia, Noodjee, Regent of Berar, English Embassy to, iv. 27. The English desirous of treating with him, 33.

Bondia, Ragjee, Mahratta Chief, iii. 161. Sends an army to invade Bengal, 111. His general assassinated, 112.

Books, introduction of good ones in India, one of the best means of reform, v. 445.

Boonah, account of, to the Rajah, ii. 156.

Bowen, armament with which he was sent to India, iii. 57.

Botany, Hindus very superficially acquainted with, ii. 68.

Bourbon, life of, by whom discovered, iii. 34.

Bourquien, General, surrenders himself to General Lake, vi. 255.

Bowdies, their dynasty and conquests, ii. 161. Their power extinguished, 179.

Brahma, his ten avatars or incarnations, i. 243. Fable of his origin, 251.

Brahme, or Brahm, meaning of, in the Hindu theology, 251, 273.

Brahmagupta, Hindu mathematician, ii. 90.

Antiquity of his astronomical treatise questioned, 101.

Brahmins, or priests, one of the orders or castes of the Hindus, i. Their power greater than that of any other priesthood that has existed, 129. Their duties and offices, 133, note. Are exclusively interpreters of the laws, 149. In the absence of the King, discharge the office of Judge, 151. Daily ceremonies observed by them, 350-351. Their manner of proceeding in making astronomical calculations, ii. 71. Six mistaken for spies, put to death by Lally, ii. 226.

Brathwaite, Colonel, marches against Hyder Ali, iv. 128. Charged with want of alacrity, 223. Defeated by Tippu Sahib after the most gallant defence, 173.

Breerton, Major, arrival of, in India, iii. 163.

Bridges, Hindus ignorant of the art of constructing them, ii. 10.

Brinjaries, dealers in grain and cattle, v. 279.

Bristow, Mr., succeeds Mr. Middleton, as resident with the Nabob of Oude, iii. 414. Removed, iv. 15, 392. Re-appointed, 327. Animadversions of the Directors on his removal, 329. Instructions given him on his re-appointments, 344, 345. Denial of these instructions by Mr. Hastings, 347. In the opinion of the whole council, with the exception of Mr. Hastings, refutes the charges brought against him, 349. Letters written in the name of the Nabob, complaining of his conduct, submitted by Mr. Hastings, 352.

British dominions, extent of, in India, geographically described, i. 1.

Brooke, Mr., member of the Madras Council, votes for a reconsideration of the claims of Mr. Benfield, iv. 91.

Brow-beating, of a witness by Mr. Sheridan, observation of Mr. Lawe on the practice of, v. 59.

Brown, Colonel, has an active command in the last war against Tippu, vii. 69. Takes Caroor, 109.

Brown, Mr. Quarles, recommends to the East India Company a plan for opening a trade with Japan, i. 73.

Bruce, Mr., on the embarrassed state of the concerns of the East India Company, quoted, i. 67. On the instructions given to their servants respecting the Mogul and other Indian princes, 79. On the subject of piracy in the Indian seas, 99, note.

Bryant, Mr., on other religions having borrowed from the Christian, quoted, i. 254. On the temples of the Cyclopes, ii. 9.

Bushman, Dr., on the claims of the Birmans to antiquity, quoted, i. 197, note. Gives a striking instance of truth by effect, 199, note. Quoted on the manner in which the progress of India is divided in India, 216. On the extent of space in India, 229.

on his chariot, 250, note.
ous controversies of the
ote. On the Hindu wor-
supreme Being, 260, note.
reatment of the labouring
e. On the treatment of
a, 317, note. Ridicules
of "simple," given by Sir
to the Pundits, 325, note.
inhospitable character of
. Characterises pestilence
py, as gentle, compared
bers, 328, note. Quoted
of apathy of the lower
people in India, 334, note.
of the Hindus, 337, note.
s of the Hindus in wash-
bodies, and cattle in the
ch they take their drink,
cribes a Hindu temple, ii.
bridge at Seringapatam,
the ignorance of the Ben-
art but weaving, 11, note.
ture of the Hindus, 19,
sculpture of the Hindu
entions a silver bason, on
mans had embossed the
f the Zodiac, 76, note.
short period that Hindu
reserved, and the wilful
pyists, 77, note. On the
ysied by the Brahmens in
oth of their religion and
e. On the deference ex-
from their inferiors, 190,
dian roads, i. 43
High Admiral, claims a
oney, i. 35
the incarnations of
ped over the greater part
D. Question, whether his
rived from Brahma, or
from him, difficult of
e.
ude Zemindary, Com-
iv. 193
Hindus, i. 338, ii. 1. See
. Buildings of the Mexi-
Peruvians, 6. Of the
neveh and Babylon, *ibid.*
s, *ibid.* Of the Cyclopes,
a, *ibid.*, note. Of the
ed in the battle of the
Doorances, ii. 337
ah of Benares, protected
against Suja Dowla, iii.
ention of, iv. 256
ry of the operations in,
ry incursions into, 403
member of the Select
e House of Commons,
e into affairs of the East
His insinuations respect-
his designs against the

Mogul and Scindia, confirmed by Mr. Pitt, v. 13, note. Substance of his celebrated speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts, 21. His character of Paul Renfield and Richard Atkinson, 23. His idea of collusion between the Nabob of Arcot's creditors and ministry, 30. Moves for papers to inculpate Mr. Hastings, 35. Mode of proceeding recommended by him against Mr. Hastings, 36. Complaints of the difficulties of the prosecution in regard to evidence, 55. His opening speech at the trial of Mr. Hastings, 74. Petitioned against by Mr. Hastings for his severe accusations respecting Nuncomar, 92. His conduct in the House of Commons on the occasion, 95. Complaints of the rules adopted by the Lords for excluding evidence, 109. His remarks on the right of the Commons not to be held to technical niceties, 132. His charge of oppression against Mr. Hastings challenged by Mr. Law, 139, note. His opinion of the efficiency of impeachments, 142. Attacked by the Archbishop of York, 169. Proposes to prosecute the publisher of the Archbishop's speech, 170. His concluding speech on the trial of Mr. Hastings, 183. Attacked by Mr. Law, brother of the counsel of that name, 188. His political character, 201. Speech by, on the question of criminality, in animadverting on the proceedings of judges and other constituted authorities, 218, note

Burmans. See **Birmans**.

Burn, Lieutenant-Colonel, prudent precautions taken by him against an attack on Delhi, vi. 412, note. Perilous situation of a detachment commanded by him near Samlee, 415

Burren Sunker, or impure brood, how introduced among the Hindus, i. 139

Burroughs, Mr. Advocate-General, his speech on a meeting of the British inhabitants of Calcutta, for contributions in support of the war against the French, vi. 90

Bussy, M. his transactions in Carnatic, iii. 149. In Mysore, 105. Further exploits of, 149—153. Recalled by Lally, 157. Joins Lally, 163. Compliment paid to his merit by six French officers, who request he might supersede them, 164. His conduct in the attack on Madras blamed, 166. Restrains the impetuosity of his officers before Cuddalore, and the English army thereby saved, iv. 192

Butter, a great luxury with the Hindus, i. 332

Buxar, battle of, iii. 247. Importance of its result to the English, *ibid*.

Buying, East India Company's Committee of, its duties, iii. 6

Buying and selling, mode of, practised by the Hindus, i. 151.

[illegible]

Byram the First, his reign, ii. 181. Byram the Second, 187

Cabot, Sebastian, voyage and discoveries of, i. 4

Cesar, quoted respecting the Druids among the Gauls, i. 236

Calcutta, granted to the East India Company by the Moguls, i. 101. Attacked by Suraja Dowla, iii. 115. Taken, and its defenders shut up in the Black Hole, 117. Retaken by Clive, 121. Fortified, 124. Discord in the council at, 213. Meetings of the British inhabitants of, for contributions in support of the war against the French, vi. 52

Callaud, Captain, repulsed before Madura, iii. 139. Defeats the Mysoreans near Madura, iii. 145. Appointed to the command of the army in Bengal, 205. Defeats the Mogul near Patna, 208. Defeats the Naib of Poorania, 210

Calmuck servants, esteemed through Russia for intelligence and fidelity, ii. 150, note. Calmuck artist, 150

Campbell, Captain, opens the gate of the fort in the capture of Gawilgur, vi. 373. Taken ill, 376

Campbell, Sir Archibald, a friend of Mr. Hastings, nominated Governor of Madras, in opposition to the appointment of Mr. Holland, by the Directors, v. 28. Grants in aid of English troops to the Raja of Travancore, 231. His regulations for the Carnatic revenues, 252. His partial view of his own arrangement respecting the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, 254. His character of the Nabob, 256. His arrangement objected to by the Nabob, 256; and the Madras government, 257

Canal, grand, of China, ii. 154

Canara, ancient name of Carnatic, extent to which its language was spoken, iii. 65, note.

Cape of Good Hope, voyages to India by, attempted, i. 7, 15. Taken from the Dutch by the English, vi. 49

Carangoly, fort, surrenders to the French, iii. 163. Taken by Sir Eyre Coote, 176

Caravansaries of Syria, ii. 158, note.

Cardan, mathematician, a rule published by, in 1845, still bears his name, ii. 105

Carical, engagement near, between the French and English fleets, iii. 161. Taken by the English, 180

Carli (Lettres Américaines), on the fondness of the Peruvians for comic dramas, quoted, ii. 42, note.

Carlisle, Earl, on the costly attire of the Russian court, quoted, ii. 146, note.

Carnac, Major, defeats the Mogul Emperor, iii. 218. Visits and negotiates a treaty with him, 220. Superseded by Colonel Coote, 222. Opposes the designs of Meer Casim against Ramnarain, 223. Recalled

from Patna, 223. Resumes the command and defeats Suja Dowla, 244. Member of the Select Committee at Calcutta, 275. His conduct as to signing covenants not to receive presents, 280. After again defeating Suja Dowla, makes peace with him, 285. Accompanies Lord Clive to Moorsshedabad on business of revenue, 296. Appointed one of the committee for settling the government of Poonah, iv. 28

Carnatic, population of, why supposed to be small, ii. 244. To whom it belonged before and after the reduction of Bejanugger by the Mohammedan powers of Deccan, 297, note. Proceedings of Anwar ad Dien, Nabob of, iii. 51, 54, 66. Geographical description of, 65. Political state of, 66. War among the natives of, 68. Wars of the English and French in, 87. Object of those wars, 92. Negotiations between the two powers respecting this point, *ibid.* Negotiations respecting, between the French and English governments in Europe, 96. Commissioners appointed, and the question settled in favour of the English, 98. War with the French in, renewed, 133. French, after various changes of fortune, driven out of Carnatic, 187. Political state of, after the overthrow of the French, 265. War with Hyder Ali, who invades it, 309, 319, 335. Irruption of Nizam Ali into, 307. Terms on which the war in, with Hyder, terminated, severely condemned by the East India Company, 335. Invaded by Tippoo Saib, v. 252. Regulations for the revenues of, by Governor Campbell and the Nabob, 252. For Nabobs of, see Anwar ad Dien, Doost Ali, and Mahomed Ali

Caroor, reduced by Colonel Fullerton, iv. 195. Taken by the army under Lord Cornwallis, v. 249

Cartier, Mr., appointed Member of the Select Committee at Calcutta, iii. 431. Succeeds Mr. Verelst, as Governor of Bengal, 340

Cashmere, overrun by the Mohammedans in the early part of the eleventh century, ii. 174. Conquered by Akbar, 243

Castes or classes, divisions into, of the Hindus, i. 120. Of the Anglo-Saxons and others, *ibid.*, note. Medes said to be divided into, 127, note. Distribution of a people into four only, productive of innumerable inconveniences as their wants multiplied, 133. Existed in the ancient Assyrian empire, 140, note. Instances of such division, in other ancient nations, *ibid.*

Catwall, ministers of justice so called, their functions, ii. 159, note.

Cave of Elephanta, ii. 3. Of Salsette and Pasa, 3, note.

INDEX.

the Madras troops, and effects of his mission, 123. His designs against the French, attack their settlements at, 125. Takes Chander- Violates the orders he had turn to Madras, 124. Plans ment of Suraja Dowla, 134. of the conspiracy for that. Calls a council of war, field in direct opposition to 133. Defeats the army of Pivey, 133. Takes Moor- His treacherous attempts und, in the division of the c. His farther proceedings 91. Appointed sole Pre- Humorous anecdote to show his influence, 193, note. In the wishes of the council, an expedition against the His conduct on occasion lency of the Nabob of abadi against Bengal, 202. achire round Calcutta, 203. atch, 204. Sails from Cal- home, 205. Previous to writes in contumelious lan- Court of Directors, 225. Government of Bengal, 225. g to pay the proceeds of r which he sues the Com- sisted by them, with high rror of Bengal, 234, note. ed by him from native Returns to India with the 261. Proposes to the Com- sovereigns of the coun- an expected rise in the 264, orders all his property l in it, 263. His account of the Company's affairs on his second administration, agrees up the country for of a new arrangement for out of the provinces, and e with Saja Dowla, 262. igh he settled with the question of his jaghire, largely into the private cal, 260, and note. Pro- poses to surrender his servants to others from Madras, 263. n the delivery of dissem- the officers of the army, service with the emperor 264, 264. Violates the Company in their prohibi- trade, 269. Returns to Is favourably received by, and the produce of his establishments ran off the d 264, 264. He is then assigned a post of a general of div-

Account of his celebrated exhortatory speech in the House of Commons, 314
 Clive, Lord, succeeds Lord Holart at Madras, vi. 49
 Close, Colonel, one of a political and diplomatic commission, in the war with Tippee Saib, vi. 83. Deputed with Mr. Webb, to propose to the relations of the Nabob of Arcot, the transfer of the Carnatic government, 231. Vested with extraordinary powers, in the preparations for war against Scindia, 274, note. Resident at Poona, 274
 Cochín, taken from the Dutch by the English, vi. 49
 Cochin, Rajah of, his transactions with Tippee Saib, v. 232
 Cochin China, account of, ii. 157, 158, note.
 Cool, surrendered to the English, under General Lake, vi. 350
 Coimbatore, taken by the English, iv. 199. Again by the army under Lord Cornwallis, v. 246. Attack upon, repulsed by Lieutenant Chalmers, 313. Capitulates to a detachment of Tippee's army, 315
 Coin, gold and silver, first struck in India by Akbar, ii. 145. Copper coin struck by Mahomet the Third, 208
 Colbert, French East India Company, projected by, 4, 72
 Coldbrook, Henry Thomas, on the religious sects of the Hindus, quoted, i. 254, note. On the Hindu goddess Vach, 260, note. Brahmin dialogue cited by, on the question of the universal soul, 261. Acknowledges the insufficiency of the distinction in the Hindu religion between the creature and the Creator, 271. Ascribes to the Hindus a fondness for scholastic disputation, ii. 62, note. Examination of his work on Sanscrit Algebra, 59.
 Collinge, Colonel, resident at Pooty Ghur, sent to negotiate with Dowlat Rao Scindia, vi. 270. His negotiation unsuccessful, 272. Second mission, 282, et seq.
 Colonization of India with Englishmen, benefits that would have resulted from, v. 429
 Cornara, servant, and agent of Mr. Benson, in money-lending transactions, iv. 79, note.
 Communist Djen Khan, imposition practised by, in the affair of Nussour, iii. 469
 Commerce, active state of, in England, under Queen Elizabeth, i. 3. Of the English with the Moors, begun by Sir Francis Drake, 8. Export and Import articles of, in 1663, ii. 18, note. Rapid advance of, in England, in the early part of the eighteenth century, iv. 66. Further advance of, in the middle of that

Committeemen, Board of, 87.
 settlement of the dominion
 of the English of the Nabob
 110
 Committees of Directors of
 Company enumerated, and
 the duties described, iii.
 select Committee at Calcutta
 why formed, 235. Its pro-
 ceedings presents, 291; resolu-
 tions, 257; respecting the
 revenues in the council, 4
 military allowances, 412.
 inland trade society, 457.
 Circuit. See Circuit.
 Revenue in Bengal, v. 139.
 Commons, House of, of the
 war in the Carnatic,
 the supreme judicature,
 the minister to an immed-
 reform in the affairs of
 Fox's Bill introduced, 4
 East India Bill passed
 inapplicable to the end
 failed, 349. Proceedings
 the affairs of India, v.
 acts of the Nabob
 View of parties in, 35
 affairs between minister
 ly, relative to Mr. Hast-
 den in, on the mode
 respecting evidence again
 45. Best mode of proc-
 Mr. Hastings rejected by
 Votes the Rohilla war v.
 49. Passes Bills to the
 India Act, 72. Object
 51-54. Articles of impe-
 Hastings brought up in
 of the House, 57.
 v. 174-1, and carried to the
 councils of, relative to the
 of Sir Elijah Impey, 181
 on the declaratory Bill
 proceedings of, on Mr. P-
 Mr. Hastings with the
 v. 174-2. Reprimand
 the managers
 important, through
 184-1, and on the que-
 dissolution of parliam-
 174-2, 145. Acts
 acts of the people,
 v. 174-1, to disprove
 fraction of the trial,
 of, on imtemperate
 Archbishop of York,
 about further time
 managers of the trial
 1773-1841. Managers
 v. 174-1, to ascertain
 to the trial, 175. Vo-
 to move to the man-
 184. Report of the C
 referred to, 184.

Commissioners, Board of, appointed for the settlement of the dominions required by the English of the Nabob of Oude, vi. 140

Committees of Directors of the East India Company enumerated, and their respective duties described, iii. 3, et seq. Select Committee at Calcutta, of whom and why formed, 205. Its proceedings respecting presents, 281; respecting private trade, 287; respecting the supply of vacancies in the council, 410; respecting military allowances, 412; respecting the inland trade society, 487. Committee of Circuit. See Circuit. Committee of Revenue in Bengal, v. 139

Commons, House of, proceedings in, on the war in the Carnatic, and conduct of the supreme judicature, iv. 371. Urge the minister to an immediate and effectual reform in the affairs of India, 380. Mr. Fox's Bill introduced, *ibid.* Mr. Pitt's East India Bill passed, 381. Supposed inadequate to the ends it was meant to fulfil, 389. Proceedings in, relating to the affairs of India, v. 13, note; to the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, 17-22. View of parties in, 35. Mutual aspersions between ministers and opposition in, relative to Mr. Hastings, 38. Discussion in, on the mode of procedure respecting evidence against Mr. Hastings, 45. Best mode of procedure respecting Mr. Hastings rejected by the House, 47. Votes the Rohilla war not impeachable, 49. Passes Bills to amend the East India Act, 72. Object of those Bills, 51-54. Articles of impeachment of Mr. Hastings brought up from the Committee of the House, 57. Impeachment voted, and carried to the Lords, 58. Proceedings of, relative to the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey, *ibid.* Debates in, on the declaratory Bill, 59. Further proceedings of, on Mr. Burke's charging Mr. Hastings with the murder of Nuncmar, 92. Reprimands Major Scott for reviling the managers of Mr. Hastings' impeachment, through the press, 144. Debates in, on the question, whether the dissolution of parliament abated the impeachment, 145. Acts of, said not to be acts of the people, 149. Committee formed in, to disprove the charge of protraction of the trial, 169. Proceedings of, on intemperate language by the Archbishop of York, 170. Dispute in, about further time required by the managers of the trial to prepare their reply, *ibid.* Managers appointed a committee by, to ascertain the causes of delay in the trial, 178. Votes the thanks of the House to the managers of the trial, 184. Report of the Committee of, appointed to inspect the Lords' Journals,

relative to their proceedings on the trial, 200-215. Debates in, on the war with Tippoo Saib, 280. Debates in, on renewal of the East India Company's Charter, vi. 3, et seq.

Commutation act and tax, iv. 393

Company, for trading to the East Indies, a new one projected, i. 89. Offers a loan of two millions to government for leave to trade, 94. Obtain an act of incorporation, 97. Chartered as a regulated company, *ibid.* Its feebleness, 101. Union of the two companies recommended by the King, 102. The union effected, 103

Concan, army sent into, by Aurungzeb, ii. 206, 207

Condamine, M. de la, on the precious stones of South America, quoted, ii. 55, note.

Condillac, on the manner in which the infant mind generalises ideas, quoted, ii. 55, note.

Conflans, M., succeeds Bussy in the command of the French troops in Carnatic, and is defeated by the English, iii. 107

Conjeveram, burned by the French, in revenge for a similar outrage committed by the English at Wandewash, iii. 143. Surprised and taken by the French, 176. Battle of, iv. 134

Consciousness, ascribed by the Hindus to vegetables as well as animals, ii. 68. Created, according to the Hindus, before the mind, 314

Control, Board of, how constituted, iv. 391. Effects of, upon the East India Company, 395. Effects of, on the government of India, 396, et seq. Efficacy of, as an instrument of government, compared with that of the Court of Directors, 399. Convinced of the evil respecting the Nabob of Arcot's debts, v. 18. Orders them to be discharged without inquiry, 19. Remonstrance of the Directors against the proceeding, 20. Appoints a governor of Madras, in opposition to the Directors, 28. Instead of controlling, originates measures. Orders the Carnatic revenues to be restored, *ibid.* Further contest of, with the Directors, respecting Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, 61. Power of, declared, 63. Salaries given to the members of, vi. 6

Coollee Khan. See Cooli.

Coorgs, account of the, v. 320

Coote, Sir Eyre, takes Wandewash, iii. 176. Reduces Clittapot and Arcot, 179. Further operations and success of the army under him, 180. Superseded by Major Monson, 182. Good sense and temper displayed by him on this occasion, 183. Resumes the com-

INDEX.

- [illegible]

- Digita, of the Hindus, real hieroglyphics, ii. 80, note.
- Dilleer Kahn, sent against Sivajee, ii. 292, 292.
- Dindigul, defence of, committed to Hyder Ali, when an inferior officer, iii. 459. Reduced by Colonel Fullerton, iv. 196. Taken by the army under Lord Cornwallis, v. 216.
- Dirom, Major, has an active command in the siege of Seringapatam, v. 314.
- Discoveries, modern, taken from hints in the ancient classics, ii. 81.
- Dividends, how made by the East India Company when there are no profits, iv. 301.
- Divorce, power of, by the Hindu laws, given to the husband, i. 314.
- Doab, geographical situation of, ii. 178.
- D'Osserville, on the religious controversies of the Hindus, i. 254, note.
- Dominions, British, in India, extent of, geographically described, i. 1.
- Don, Lieutenant-Colonel, commands a column in the attack on the fortress of Bhurtpore, vi. 403.
- Doolbub Rani, ungrateful conduct of Meer Jaffer to, iii. 159. His destruction resolved on, 193. Is assassinated, 194.
- Doondce Khan, joins the army of Doornees against the Mahrattas, ii. 336.
- Doornce, name whence derived, ii. 326, 327, note.
- Doost Ali, Nalob of Carnatic, iii. 66. Loses his life in resisting an invasion of the Mahrattas, 67.
- Dowdeswell, Mr., his account of the police of Bengal, v. 405.
- Dowla, Asaph ul. See Oude.
- Dowla, Mubarek ul, succeeds to the Nalobship of Bengal, iii. 341. Company dissatisfied with the allowance afforded him, *ibid.* Care of his household to whom entrusted, 373. Complaints of the severity with which he is treated by Mahomed Reza Khan, iv. 15. See Mahomed Reza Khan and Munny Begum.
- Dowla, Nujeeb ad, Rohilla chief, appointed to the office of Ameer al Omrah, ii. 333. On the taking of Delhi by Garce, escapes to Rohilkund, *ibid.* Joins the Doornce army against the Mahrattas, 336. Confirmed in the office of Amir al Omrah by Shah Anlum, iii. 152. His death, 392. His excellent character, 401, note.
- Dowla, Nujceem ad, made Subahdar of Bengal on the death of Suraja Dowla, iii. 247. Degraded state to which he is reduced by his treaty with the East India Company, 248. Sums paid by him to the servants of the Company on his accession, 261. Presents a letter to Clive on the restraints imposed on him, 280. New terms imposed on him equally humiliating, 403. His death and character, 500. Presents made by him to Clive, 505.
- Dowla, Sujad. See Oude.
- Dowla Suraja, Subahdar of Bengal, his character and first acts of his government, iii. 114. Offended with the English, 115. Attacks and takes Calcutta, *ibid.* Shuts up its defenders in the Black Hole, 117. Loves Calcutta and Hoogly, 123. Concludes a treaty with the English, 125. His new disputes with the English, 127. Plan formed for his dethronement, 132. Defeated at Plassey, 133. Assassinated, 134.
- Dowla, Syeff ul, succeeds his brother, Nujceem, as Subahdar of Bengal, iii. 427. Dies of the Small Pox, 341.
- Dowlah, Ahteram-ul, petitioner for the office of Nisabut Nizamut, iii. 379.
- Dowlah, Intizam, vizir to Ahmed Shah, ii. 371.
- Drake, Captain Francis, his early disposition for naval enterprise, i. 6. Account of his several voyages, *ibid.* Knighted by Queen Elizabeth, 9. Takes a Portuguese East Indiaman, 13.
- Drake, Mr., Governor of Calcutta, accused of quitting it improperly, iii. 116.
- Drapier, Colonel, arrival of, in India, iii. 155.
- Droits of prize money demanded of the East India Company, by King James and Lord High Admiral Buckingham, i. 35.
- Druids, resemblance, of their doctrines to those of the Brahmens, Magi, Chaldeans, and Egyptians, i. 120, and note, 237. Their philosophical attainments, ii. 53.
- Dewan, functions of, assumed by the East India Company, iii. 365. Ruinous consequences of this measure to the Indians, little known to the Directors, 365. Mode adopted for performing those functions in the collection of the revenue, 366. In the administration of justice, 370.
- Dewannee, in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, granted by the Emperor, to the English, iii. 287.
- Dabhoy, fortress of, taken by Goddard, iv. 39.
- Dubois, Abbe, on the practice of the Hindus of settling law-suits by arbitration, quoted, i. 200, note. On the defeat of judicial administration in India, *ibid.* On the tenure of land in India, 217, note. On the little merit due to the Vedas, 298, note. On the extensive prevalence of the doctrine of the metempsychosis, 298. On the treatment of women in India, 314, note. On marriages by purchase in India, 317, note. On community of wives in Madura, 320, note. On the state of painting and music of the Hindus, quoted, ii. 30, note. Extract from, exhibiting a correct delineation of the rude features of Hindu poetry, 44, note. On the poetry

- of the *Scotch*, quoted, *Ibid.* On the passion of the *Hindus* for the wonderful, 43, note. On the *Hindu* superstitions, 147, note.
- Duncan, Governor, his opinion of the claims of the *Nabob* of *Surat*, vi. 191, 193.
- Danda Rajapore, taken by *Shivjee*, ii. 223.
- Dundas, Henry, presiding member of a Committee of the House of Commons, to inquire into the cause of the war in the *Carnatic*, iv. 374. His speech against *Indian* delinquency, 375. Urges the legislature to specific propositions against *Mr. Hastings*, 376. His bill for the regulation of the affairs of *India*, 378. Trivial nature of his services as President of the Board of Control, 380. Nature of his bill to discharge the debts of the *Nabob* of *Arcot*, v. 18. Defends the measure in the House of Commons, 21. His idea of security unfounded, 26. His sentiments on the proposed appointment of *Lord Macartney*, as Governor-General of *India*, 32. His speech on *Mr. Burke's* motion for prayers, 37. Objects to the production of papers relative to *Oude*, 43. Defends *Mr. Hastings*, 49. His conduct on the Declaration Bill, 53. His conduct on the bills for renewing the Company's charter, vi. 5.
- Duperron, Anquetil, on the interest of the ryots in the land, quoted, i. 325, note. On the obsequies of *Crishna*, 250, note. On the hospital for animals at *Surat*, 297, note. On the ancient intercourse between the *Asiatic*, *Indian*, and *European* nations, ii. 77, note. On the absurd mode of teaching in the *Hindu* schools, 82, note. On the disposition of the *Brahmins* to accommodate their sacred records to *European* ideas, 85, note. On the exaggerated accounts of travellers, and of scholars, as to any languages they have learned with difficulty, 114, note. On the perfidious character of *Indian* princes, 137, note.
- Dupleix, Joseph Francis, his early history, iii. 46. Resemblance of his character to that of *Buonaparte* and *Frederic* the Great, 46, note. Deemed, by his talents, the fittest person to superintend the business of the *French* Company at *Chander-nagor*, 46. His activity when raised to the station of Governor of *Pondicherry*, 47. His opposition to the plans of *La-bourdonnais*, 48. Vehemently resists the restoration of *Madras* to the *English*, 49. First deludes the *Nabob*, and then defeats him in battle, 51. Basely breaks faith with the *English*, 52. His enterprise against *Fort St. David*, 53. Defeated in his attack upon *Cuddalore*, 56. His vain boasting on the failure of the *English* attack on *Pondicherry*, 59. His policy in supporting the pretensions of *Chunda Sahib* to the government of the *Carnatic*, 70. Gifted with the sovereignty of eighty-one villages, 72. Secretly intrigues against *Chunda Sahib*, from whom he had received these villages, 73. Dexterity with which he extricates himself from difficulties, 76. Appointed governor of the *Mogul* dominions on the coast of *Coromandel*, 78. Characterised as an audacious contemner of truth, 81, note 2. Falsely charges *Major Lawrence* with the murder of *Chunda Sahib*, 87. Further trait of his perseverance, and the resources of his mind in difficulties, 89. His attempt to engage *Mortez Ali*, Governor of *Vellore*, in the interest of the *French*, 91. Attempts a negotiation with the *English*, 95. General prejudices entertained against him both in *France* and *England*, 97. Is superseded, *Ibid.* Returns to *Europe*, 102. Ill-treated by his nation, *Ibid.* which *Voltaire* says, hastened his death, 103, note.
- Dupuit, on the worship of the planets by ancient nations, quoted, i. 271, note.
- Dusticks, meaning of, iii. 23.
- Dutch, commencement of their East India Company, i. 15. Expel the *Portuguese* from the *Moluccas*, 29. Take two *English* *Indiamen*, 30. Present a memorial against the proceedings of the *English* Company to *King James*, 31. Compromise between them and the *English*, 32. Destroy *Polaroon*, 36. Execute *Captain Towerson* and nine *Englishmen*, having first applied the torture, 56. Claim an exclusive right to the *Moluccas*, *Bandas*, and *Ambony*, 41. Entitle the seat of their government in *India*, *Batavia*, 42. Their treaty with the *Portuguese*, 52. Capture four *English* East *Indiamen*, 56. Alarmed at the open trade by the *English*, 61. *Ceylon* possessed by them, *Ibid.* Their subtleties to evade the cession of *Polaroon*, 67. *Polaroon* and *Damm* ceded to them, *Ibid.* Their fisheries, iii. 78. *Cerne*, Island of, taken and denominated by them the *Mauritius*, iii. 54. Send a large reinforcement of troops to their settlement in *Bengal*, 203. The whole of these troops made prisoners or killed, and six *Dutch* East *Indiamen* taken by the *English*, 204. Purchase *Nazore* of the *Rajah* of *Tanjore*, iv. 81. Involved on this account in a war with the *English*, 81. *Negapatnam* and *Trincomalee* taken from them, 189. Four *Indiamen* taken from them in *Saldanha Bay*, 168. Sell the forts of *Cranganore* and *Jaycottah* to the *Rajah* of *Travancore*, v. 230. Their settlements in *India* and at the *Cape of Good Hope* taken by the *English*, vi. 40.
- Dutens, Mr., ascribes the modern discoveries in the arts and sciences to the writings of the ancients, ii. 84, note.

Duttahjee Scindiah, Mahratta Chief, defeated by Sujah ad Dowla, II. 336

Daveler, M., envoy on the part of the French in the negotiation of a peace with the English, III. 97

Dyeing, art of, among the Hindus, II. 15. Among the Persians and Colchians, 16, note. Scarlet dyed by the Chinese more exquisitely than by any other nation, *Ibid.*, note.

East India Company, Dutch. See Dutch.

East India Company, English. Its origin, I. 7. Its first character, 18. Its first voyage, 19. Account of its eight succeeding voyages, 20. Its charter renewed, 21. Its first establishment on the continent of India, 21. Made a joint stock company, 22. Profit of eight voyages made by it, and four others, subsequently made, 22. Sir Thomas Roe's advice to the Company, 23. Opens a trade with Persia, 24. Rivalship which the Company experiences from other European nations, *Ibid.* Establishes settlements at Polaroon and Roengin, 30. Two of its ships carried away by the Dutch, *Ibid.* Its reply to the complaints made by the Dutch to King James, 31. Forms a treaty with the Dutch, 32; which the Dutch evade, 34. Its contest with the Portuguese, 35. Its success in further voyages, 35. Demands upon it by King James, and the Duke of Buckingham, *Ibid.* Entrusted with the exercise of martial law, 41. Ill success of its trade with Persia, *Ibid.* Seeks reparation for the injury at Amboyna, 40. See Amboyna. Establishes factories at Masulipatam and Pullicat, which are afterwards relinquished, 42. Account of further voyages, 43. Its charter renewed, 44. Its third joint-stock, 45. Its connexions along the Eastern coast of Hindustan extended, *Ibid.* Forms a treaty with the Portuguese, 46. Alarmed for its privileges, *Ibid.* Its charter violated by King Charles, who grants a trading licence to Sir William Courten, 47. Question, to whom the property of the Company belonged, agitated, 48. Its fourth joint-stock, 50. Its magazines seized by the King, 51. Its first settlement at Madras, *Ibid.* Its trade languishes for want of funds, 52. Unites with Courten's association, and is denominated the United Joint-stock, 54. Disputes among the owners of its different stocks, 59. Coalition with the Merchant adventurers, 60. Obtain a new charter from Charles the Second, 64. State of its capital and trade, *Ibid.* Obtains the cession of Bombay from the Portuguese, 66. Refractory conduct of its servants in India, 69. Altercation between the two houses of parliament on a transaction of the Company,

71. Projects a trade with Japan, 73. Increases its funds, 74. St. Helena granted to it by royal charter, 76. Value of its adventures from the year 1674 to 1682, 77. Establishes an agency in Bengal, 78. Commences a trade with China, *Ibid.* Establishes new regulations for its servants, 79. Threatened with a rival Company, 80. Greatly in debt, 81. Obtains the power of admiralty jurisdiction, 82. Occasions a revolt, by an attempt to lessen the expenses of its Government, *Ibid.* Goes to war with the native powers in India, 84. Is bent on acquiring territory, *Ibid.* Employs Armenian brokers in preference to its own servants, 89. Again threatened with a rival Company, *Ibid.* Severity of its proceedings against private traders, 90. Obtains a new charter from King William, 92. Amount of sums expended by it to bribe men in power, 93. Successful attempts of a new association against it, *Ibid.* Estates of the Company made liable for its debts, 94. Union effected between it and the new Company, 103. Constitution of the United Company minutely described, III. 1. et seq. Amount of its trade, export and import, 8. Its mode of transacting business, 9, 10. Plan of its government in India, 12, 13, note. New charter granted by George the First, for improving the administration of justice, 14. Further account of its exports and imports, 17. Obtains a seven years' extension of its charter, 18. Obtains a proclamation against interlopers, *Ibid.* Empowered to seize, as guilty of a high misdemeanor, all British subjects found in India, and not in its service, and to send them home for punishment, 29. Authorized by parliament to borrow money, but for the purposes of trade only, 21. Sends an embassy to the court of Persia, the Mogul, 22. Account of the disputes arising from the private trade of its servants, 25. Parliament petitioned against its monopoly, 27, 29. Efforts of the Company in support of the monopoly, 30. Arguments employed by the Company, examined, 31. The advocates of the Company successful in parliament, 33. State of its trade from the year 1730 to 1744, 34. State of its dividends, 35. Attempts and accomplishes a further prolongation of its exclusive privileges, 36. Further account of the state of its trade, 59. Begins to act as a warlike power in India, 60. Obtains Pondicherry, 185. Its pecuniary distress, 213, note. Discord in its council in Bengal, 217. Its resentment of the contumely of Clive and other of its servants, 226. Nature of the private trade of its servants, 229; and the disorders produced by 230. Shameful instance of the injustice its servants, respecting duties on the

ternal trade, 234. Takes the military power of the Subudree of Bengal into its own hands, and forms an arrangement for the civil government, 244. Condemns the private trade of its servants, 255. Prohibits its servants from receiving presents, 261. Statement of sums received as presents by its servants from native princes, 267. Obtains a Jaghire from the Nabob of Deccan, 270. State of the corruption and rapacity of its servants on the second administration of Clive, 275. Its orders for abolishing the inland trade and prohibiting the receipt of presents disregarded, 279. Condemns Clive for extending its dominions, 283. Acquires the Duannee in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, 287. Committee of its Supreme Council in Bengal convert private trade into a monopoly for the exclusive benefit of the superior servants of the Company, 290. Recommends a reduction of military allowances, 293. Consequences of this measure, 295. Further prohibitory orders by the Company respecting private trade, and further disobedience of the servants, 300. Parliament assumes the control of its rate of dividend, 304. The territories of the Company not held by it in sovereignty, *ibid.* State of its affairs on the departure of Clive from India, 305. Increase of its financial difficulties during a period of profound tranquillity accounted for, 308. Its expedition against the Rajah of Ghurka unsuccessful, 309. Distress of its finances on the breaking out of the war with Hyder Ali, *ibid.* New arrangements for paying the higher order of its servants, 310. Orders the operations of its troops to be confined within its own territories, *ibid.* Further account of its financial distresses, 311. Bills drawn by its servants in India upon the Company at home, effects of this proceeding, 312. Its troops take possession of the Northern Circars, and conclude a treaty with Nizam Ali, 318. The Company involved by this treaty in a war with Hyder Ali, 319. See Hyder Ali. New arrangements of its claim to the sovereignty of the Indian territory, 337. From the grievous failure of its annual treasures a board of supervisors devised for the remedy of evils, 338. Allowed by ministers to send out a king's commissioner to India, 339. The vessel in which the supervisors take their passage lost, and no intelligence of her or her passengers ever received, 340. Further increase of the Company's pecuniary difficulties, 342. Committee of the House of Commons appointed to investigate its affairs, 345. Terms on which it petitions for relief, 346. Change in its constitution by parliament, 348. Effects of the change, 350. Financial and commercial state of

the Company, 350. Mr. Hastings appointed Governor-General, 351. Vices of the Company's administration by its servants in India, 352. The Company openly assumes the functions of the deewan, 355; ignorant at the same time of its consequences, *ibid.* Boasted improvement of the Company's shippers in Bengal, by Mr. Hastings, related, 407. Commencement of the new government framed by parliament for the Company's affairs, 410. Pretended disapproval of the Company to the obtaining Sateette by force, 439. Approves of the treaty with Ragoba, 436. Plans of taxation, proposed by Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis, rejected by the Company, *iv.* 11. Directs the restoration to office of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Fowke, who had been removed by Mr. Hastings, 16. The Governor and Council decide by vote that the directions of the Company in this business shall not be complied with, *ibid.* The removal of Mahomed Reza Khan and the establishing Munny Begum, disapproved by the Company, and ordered to be reversed, 21. Expresses its approval of attacking the Poonah states, 30. Its indignation at the unsuccessful result of this attack, 31. Sir John Lindsay vested by the Company to take command of its vessels of war in the Indian seas, and treat and settle matters in the Persian Gulf, while secretly appointed by the Crown as minister plenipotentiary, 44. Dangerous consequences of these jarring powers in the same person, 49. Government of India in the hands of the Company more likely to have a favourable result, than in the hand of the ministers of the Crown, 59. Conduct of the Directors of the Company in England on the dethronement of the Rajah of Tanjore, 86. The Company appoints Lord Pigot Governor of Madras, 87. Orders a Committee of Circuit to be formed for ascertaining the state of the country subject to the Madras Presidency, 92. Orders Lord Pigot, who had been imprisoned by the council of Madras, to be restored to office, 95. See Pigot. Appoints Sir Thomas Rumbold Governor on the recall of Lord Pigot, 98. See Rumbold. Expresses its disapprobation of the treaty of Vizieram Raz, 107. Appoints Lord Macartney on the removal of Rumbold, 155. Represents to ministers the evils resulting from the Supreme Court of Judicature appointed by parliament, 225. New board for the regulation of its revenues, 253. Expresses its disapprobation of the treatment of the Paja of Benares by Mr. Hastings, 288. Its animadversions on Mr. Hastings' removal of Mr. Bristow and Mr. Fowke, 329, 330. Its decision respecting the treatment of the Begums, 341. Legis-

lative proceedings relative to its loans and dividends, 369. Discussions relative to the renewal of its charter, 372. Regulations introduced on the renewal of its charter by Lord North, 373. Bill for restraining the Supreme Court of Judicature, 375. Petitions parliament for pecuniary relief, 378, 393. How its dividends are made when there are no profits, 394. Bills introduced into parliament for the better government of its affairs, 381-384. See further, Dundas, Fox, Pitt. Effects of the Board of Control on the Company, 395. State of its government in India on the departure of Mr. Hastings, v. 8. Remonstrances against payment of the Nabob of Arcot's debts, as ordered by the Board of Control, 20. Appoints Mr. Holland Governor of Madras, but opposed in it by the Board of Control, 28. New bills in parliament for the better management of its affairs, object of the first, 51; object of the second and third, 53. Allowed to raise money and increase its stock, 54. Struggle of the directors of, with the Board of Control, for political power, 61. Subdued by Mr. Pitt's declaratory bill, 63. Votes an annuity of 5,000*l.* and other sums to Mr. Hastings, 193. Territory of Rhandaterrah assigned to it, to liquidate a long standing debt, 229. Though pleased with Sir A. Campbell's arrangements, yet considers injustice to have been done to the Raja of Tanjore, 255. Makes an addition to the sums required of the Nabob of Arcot, 237. Approves the measure of taking possession of his revenues, 259. Sends out recruits of men and money on the war with Tippoo, 282. Its finances in 1793, 451. Renewal of its charter opposed by the English merchants and manufacturers, vi. 1. Adds 2,000,000*l.* to its stock, by subscription, 4. Terms on which its charter is renewed, 5. Imposes additional burdens on the Nabob of Oude, 34. The province of Furruckabad demanded of the Nabob, 188. Its instructions to Lord Mornington respecting the Nabob of Arcot, 212. Its desire for good government in India, 232. Takes upon itself the debts of the Nabob, 241. Approves of the proceedings against the Nabob before it knew what the proceedings were, 242. State of its revenues from 1793 to 1805, 472. See further, Control, Board of.

East India Company, French. See French. Ecbatana, city of, and its palace, ii. 9, note. Education, low state of, among the Hindus, ii. 82. Attention paid to it among the Turks and Persians, 83. Considered by the Americans of Mexico and Peru, as a principal duty of the government, 83, and note. Insufficient as a remedy for Indian crimes, v. 437, 449

Edwards, Captain, his evidence upon the oppressive government of Colonel Hannay, iv. 314

Egerton, Colonel, one of the committee sent to settle the government of Poonah, iv. 22

Egypt, intelligence of the French expedition to, vi. 71. The fleet destroyed by Admiral Nelson, 80

Egyptians, chronology of, i. 107. Worshipers of the sun, 271, note. Worshipers of the ox and other animals, 296. Their method of counting, ii. 74, note. Their degree of civilisation estimated, 162, note, and 163, note.

Ekal, one of the Omrahs, account of, ii. 214, 218

Ekojee or Angogee, half-brother of Sirajee, he and his posterity left Rajahs of Tanjore, ii. 287

Elements, origin of the worship of, i. 275

Elephanta, cave of, ii. 3

Ellavanasore taken by the French, iii. 141

Elliot, Sir Gilbert, articles of impeachment by, against Sir Elijah Impey, in the House of Commons, v. 59

Ellis, Mr. one of the Bengal Council, characterised as of a violent temper, iii. 217. Appointed chief of the factory of Patna, 220. Instances of his arbitrary conduct to the Nabob of Bengal, *ibid.* Threatens and afterwards invades Patna, 237

Elphinstone, Mr. ascribes to the Afghans a love of the subtleties of metaphysics, ii. 55. His account of the tenets of the sects called Sofees, 60, note.

Embassy, sent to the Mogul by Queen Elizabeth, i. 16. Of Sir Thomas Roe, to the Mogul court, 22. Result of the measure, 45. By the East India Company, to the court of Ferokehser, iii. 22. By the Supreme Council, to the Rajah of Berar, iv. 27. By Lord Mornington, to the King of Persia, vi. 147

Emir Jumla, account of, ii. 268. Made Vizir to Shah Jehau, *ibid.* His exploits, in concert with Aurungzeb, in Decan, 268. Dismissed from the Vizirat, and his person seized by Aurungzeb, 270. Aids Aurungzeb in the defeat of his brother Suja, 276. From the jealousy of Aurungzeb sent to make war against the king of Assam, 280. Returning from the expedition is attacked with a dysentery and dies, 281

Emir Jumla, favourite of Ferokehser, his plots against the two Seyds, Hussun and Abdoola, ii. 303

Emrut Rao, affairs of Poonah administered in his name, vi. 275. Intention ascribed to him of burning that city, 293. Flies from it, on the arrival of General Wellesley, 293

English. See Ingial

English, commercial

- under Queen Elizabeth, i. 3. Instances of the use of torture by, 34. Increasing prosperity of, from the accession of James the First, 74. Pretended descent of, 107, note. Defects of their code of laws, ii. 355. Their laws charged with being more cruel than the Mahomedan law of mutilation, 354. English notions of law fractional, v. 401. English despotism a cause of Indian crimes, 427. For military transactions of the English, see the names of the respective places which were the scenes of them, and the names of the officers by whom they were performed.
- Errol, taken by the army under Lord Cornwallis, v. 246
- Ethics, state of, with the Hindus, ii. 60
- Evidence, Hindu laws relating to, i. 192. Remarks on the English law of, v. 46. Some of the rules of, examined, 93. Self-convicting evidence examined, 115. In evidence alone consists the trial of a cause, 205. Circumstantial evidence, 205
- Excavations, Indian, ii. 2, 3, note. Their appearance partly ascribable to nature, *ibid.*
- Expedition, grand instrument of success in war, ii. 276
- Factories, establishment of, injurious to the profits of the East India Company, i. 73
- Factorships, not to be held by Members of the Supreme Council in Bengal, iii. 417
- Fairfax, Major, reason assigned by him, why a share of the plunder at Bidjagur, was refused to Mr. Hastings, iv. 283
- Fakirs, mortifications and torments which they inflict on themselves, i. 281. Indecency of those who travel in pilgrimage, 321, note. Curious history of a tribe of, who gave alarm to Aurangzeb, ii. 241
- Falsehood and dissimulation, height to which they are carried by the Hindus, i. 325, note. Supposed to have been the cause of the trial by ordeal, 325, note.
- Famine, through India, ii. 263. In Deccan, 278. Destructive ravages by, among the inhabitants of Bengal, iii. 486. Sufferings by, at Madras, iv. 256
- Ferguson, Dr., on works of magnificence executed by rude nations, quoted, ii. 9, note. On the historical construction to be put on the legends of ancient heroes, 49, note. On the qualities and habits of civilisation apparent in the naked savage, 112, note.
- Ferozkher, son of Azim oos Shaun, proceeding by which he attained to the throne, ii. 306. Murders with which he begins his reign, 307. Plots against the life of the two Seyds, who had helped him to advancement, 308. His wars with the Selks, 310. Throws himself on the mercy of the Seyd and is dethroned, 313. Cured of a disreputable disease by an English surgeon, iii. 15. Benefit derived from this circumstance to the East India Company, *ibid.*
- Feroze, nephew of Mohammed the Third, agricultural and other improvements made by him during his sovereignty, ii. 213
- Feroze, son of Mallek, an adventurer, his reign, ii. 194. Murdered by his nephew, 200
- Federal system, idea of, never had existence in India, iv. 61
- Finances of the East India Company. See East India Company.
- Five Arts, state of, with the Hindus, ii. 21, 155
- Fire, oblations to, one of the Hindu sacraments, account of, i. 355
- Firebrace, Sir Basil, his intrigues with the two East India Companies, i. 104, note
- Firoze, son of Daud, Mohammedan sovereign in Deccan, ii. 245
- Fisheries, state of the Dutch, in the reign of James the First, i. 73
- Flattery. See Adulation and Panegyric.
- Fleas and other vermin treated with a persevering care by the Hindus, i. 297, note.
- Fletcher, Colonel, killed in the celebrated battle of Colonel Baillie with Hyder Ali, iv. 135
- Fletcher, Sir Robert, takes Allahabad, iii. 284. Dismissed the service for mutiny, 298. His concern in the restoration of the Rajah of Tanjore, iv. 68. Put under arrest by Lord Pigot, 95
- Flint Captain, defeats the operations of Tippoo Saib, at Tagar, v. 251
- Floyd, Colonel, surprises and takes Sattimungul, without bloodshed, v. 247. Retreats and is obliged to quit it, 248. Wounded in a skirmish with the troops of Tippoo Saib near Bangalore, 267. His operations at the siege of Seringapatam, vi. 56
- Floyer, Governor, extracts of letters by, to Pretaupa Sing, King of Tanjore, iii. 153, note.
- Fo, instances of his incarnation, ii. 153
- Foot of a king, why, according to Zoroaster, placed in Heaven, and the rest of his body in the lower regions, i. 295, note.
- Forbes, Mr. on the Indian excavations, ii. 4, note.
- Forde, Colonel, his operations in Carnatic, iii. 197. Takes Masulipatam, 199. Defends the Dutch near Chinsura, 204. Appointed one of the supervisors of India, 335. Lost in his passage out, 340
- Forster, Mr., cites an instance of the extravagantly pious ejaculations of a Persian in distress, i. 238. Says Hindu women are debarred the use of letters, 313, note. On exclusion of the Hindu women from

- society, quoted, 318, note. On the deportment of the Russians, 323, note. On the bodily strength of the Afghans, who abstain from animal food, 333, note. On the filthiness of the Hindus, 339. On the expertness of rude nations in the use of tools, ii. 23, 24. Says the Hindus have a slender knowledge of the rules of proportion, and none of perspective, 25. On the similarity of customs in the various nations of Asia, quoted, 151
- Fort St. George, first building of, i. 52; iii. 37. Surrenders to Labourdonnais, iii. 37
- Fort William, built and constituted a presidency, i. 101
- Fortifications, value attached to them by the Hindus, i. 146. Nature of Hindu fortifications, ii. 207, note.
- Foujdar, or Phouzdar, term explained, iii. 93
- Fowke, Joseph and Francis, indicted for a conspiracy, iii. 449
- Fowke, Mr. Francis, deprived of the office of Resident of Benares, by Mr. Hastings, iv. 16. Office restored to him by the directors, 330
- Fox, Charles James, provisions of his two India bills stated, iv. 331. Ferment excited by them in the nation, 385. Interference of the king on the subject of them, *ibid.* Justice of the outcry against them examined, 336. Character of the bills, 388. Character of the arguments opposed to them, 391. His attack upon Lord Macartney repelled by Mr. Pitt, v. 35. His reply to Mr. Dundas on a charge of having overloaded the patronage of India, 40. Urges the appreciation of evidence in the charges against Mr. Hastings, while fresh in the memory, 79. His speech as accuser on the trial of Mr. Hastings, 86. Charges ministers, after having voted for the impeachment, with attempting to defeat its end, 97. Rebukes the improper language of Mr. Law on the trial, 117. Abstract of his speech imputing cruelty to Mr. Hastings, 143, note. Severity of his strictures on the professors of the law, 148. Sums up the charge on presents, 183. His speech on the bill for renewing the Company's charter, vi. 12
- Foxcroft, sent to supersede Sir E. Winter, at Fort St. George, is imprisoned by him, i. 69
- Frabisher, Martin, attempts the North-west Passage, i. 5
- France, Isle of, account of its first possession by the French, iii. 33
- Francis, Mr., appointed a member of the first Supreme Council in India, iii. 361. His arrival at Calcutta, 410. His plan for levying taxes, iv. 4. Objects to Mr. Hastings' plan on the subject of taxation, 6. Opposes him on other points, 11, 17.
- Duel between him and Mr. Hastings, 45. Departs for Europe, *ibid.* Major Scott's philippic against him, v. 53, note. When called to give evidence on the trial of Mr. Hastings, why not permitted, 109, 133. His plan of Indian finance blindly and enthusiastically adopted, 330, note.
- Frazer, General, defeats part of Holkar's army at Deeg, vi. 416
- Frederick, Colonel, his illness and death, v. 276
- French, their East India Company projected by Colbert, i. 72. Send twelve ships to Surat, 75. Form an establishment at Pondicherry, 126. Take Madras, iii. 37. Further account of their settlements in India, and nature of their government, *ibid.* Appoint Labourdonnais Governor of their Islands in India, 39. Send a fleet to India with hostile designs against the English, 59. Engagement between theirs and the English fleet, 45. Improvement of their colony in Bengal by Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry, 46. Attack Fort St. David without success, 55. Support the pretensions of Chunda Sahab, to the government of the Carnatic, 70. Their attempt upon Trichinopoly baffled, 85. Defeat the English, and are defeated in their turn at Gingee, 88, 89. Obtain the assistance of the Mysoreans and Mahrattas, 90. Amount of their forces, 93. Besiege Trichinopoly, 94. Negotiation between the French and English entered into, but broken off, 95. Negotiation between the French and English governments of Europe, 96. Treaty signed between the contending parties at Pondicherry, 98. French join Salabut Jung, and march against Mysore, 105. Restrained from active opposition by their difficulties in country of Salabut Jung, 106. Commencement of hostilities between the French and English in Europe, 123. Unjust designs of Clive against the French, 125. Gallantry with which they defend themselves at Chandernagor, 127. Take Ellavanasore, 141. Invest Trichinopoly, *ibid.* Reduce eight forts in the neighbourhood of Chittapet and Trinomalee, and establish collectors in the districts, 145. Receive a strong reinforcement commanded by Lally, 146. Engage the English fleet, 147. Endanger the English possessions by their superior force, 148. Operations of the army of, under Bussy, 149—153. Take Fort St. David, under Lally, 155. Undertake an expedition against Tanjore, 158. Proceedings of the French and English fleets, 160. French take Arcot, 163. Attack Madras, 166. Obligated to relinquish the siege, 168. Naval engagement between the French and English, 171. French repel with

- great gallantry an attack by the English on Wandewash, 172. Driven from the Northern Circars, 173. Surprise and take Conjeveram, 176. Defeated in the battle of Wandewash, 179. Lose Chittapet and Arcot, *ibid.* Lose Timery, Devicotal, Trinomalee, Alamparva, and Carical, 180. Lose Vallore, Chillambrum, and Cuddalore, *ibid.* Endeavour to obtain assistance from Mysore, 181. Lose Pondicherry, Thilagar, Gingee, and Mahé, their last remaining settlement, 184, 185. Possessions restored to the French by the treaty of Paris, 270. Aim at the establishment of a factory at Poonah, and the acquisition of a sea-port on the coast of Malabar, by an agent of the name of St. Lubin, *iv.* 23. On a renewal of the war, their Indian possessions again taken by the English, 113. Humanity of their officers in the service of Hyder Ali, to the English prisoners, 135. Send a large reinforcement from Europe, 167. Their fleet under Suffrein beaten by the English fleet in Praya Bay, 169. Land 2,000 troops at Porto Novo, 172. Their fleet again engaged with the English, 177; again, 179. Take Trinomalee, 180. Another engagement of their fleet with the English, 179. Repulse the English in an attack upon their works at Cuddalore, 192. The fleets have a further battle, 193. Cessation of arms between the French and English, 194. Possessions restored to the French on the conclusion of a treaty of peace, 333. Their settlements in India again captured by the English, *v.* 331. French force in the army of the Nizam, *vi.* 24. Their invasion of Egypt, 70. The fleet accompanying this invasion destroyed by Admiral Nelson, 72.
- Frezier, quoted on the skill of the Indians in conveying water to their dwellings, *ii.* 20, note.
- Fryer, in his *Travels*, ascribes to the Gentoo inhumanity both to their cattle and to their sick, *i.* 298, note. Quoted on the Hindu mode of settling quarrels, 331, note 4. On the mean and filthy state of the houses of their merchants, 333, note 4. On the skill of their artisans, considering their rude tools, *ii.* 24, note.
- Fullerton, Colonel, his arrival in India, *iv.* 170. His expedition into Coimbatore, 194. Establishes a system of intelligence, in which the English had been deficient during the whole war, 197.
- Fullerton, Mr. Surgeon, on the massacre of the English prisoners by Meer Causim, his only life saved, *iii.* 243.
- Funeral ceremonies of the Hindus, *i.* 366.
- Furruckabad, government of, demanded by the Company, *vi.* 188. Ceded to, 189. Remarks on the circumstance, *ibid.* Settlement of the ceded districts, 196. The Zemindars of the new districts refractory, 193. The measure approved of by the Directors, 195.
- Futtuh Mohammed, father of Hyder Ali, account of, *iii.* 321.
- Fyzoolah Khan, chief of the Rohilla nation, defeated by the English and the Nabob of Oude, *iii.* 403. Agreement of the Nabob with, 405. Treaty to despoil him, *iv.* 331. His death, *vi.* 33.
- Gaming, Hindus strongly infected with the vice of, *i.* 335. Propensity to, of the Chinese and the Malays, 335, note. The vice of all rude nations, *ii.* 31.
- Ganges, sacrifices to, of the Hindus, by drowning themselves in it, *i.* 289.
- Garcilasso de la Vega, quoted on the method of government observed by the Incas, *i.* 143, note. On the theological notions of the Incas, 240, note. On the wise sayings of an Inca, on religious worship, 267, note. Cites a list of the moral sayings of a celebrated Inca, 293, note. His account of the stately edifices of the Incas, *ii.* 5. On Peruvian Agriculture, quoted, 20, note. On the skill of the Peruvians in casting and moulding figures, 27, note. On the skill in imitation, of the Peruvian Indians, 29. On the dramatic works of the Peruvian Amantas, 42. On the establishment of schools in Cozco, by Inca Roca, 83, note.
- Gardener, Col., one of the commanders at the siege of Seringapatam, *vi.* 92.
- Gaurian dynasty, commencement of the first, *ii.* 182. Commencement of the second, 198.
- Gawilghur, siege and capture of the fort of, *vi.* 373.
- Gayatri, a holy text of the Vedas, *i.* 270.
- Ghaznevides, origin of, *ii.* 172. Provinces belonging to, 179. Their fall, 182.
- Genealogy of the Hindu kings, *i.* 110.
- Gentoo Sepoys, 400 embarked in boats by the English, and perish in the Ganges, *iii.* 118, note.
- Gentoo charged with inhumanity to their cattle and sick, *i.* 297. Characterised as a treacherous and deceitful people, 325, note.
- Getes, their ideas of God, *i.* 237.
- Ghauts, heights in the country of the Mahrattas, *iv.* 215.
- Ghazee, ad din Khan, appointed by Shah Aulum Subahdar of Guzerat, *ii.* 300.
- Ghazee ad din Khan, son of Cheen Koolich Khan, nominated to the office of Ameer al Omrah, *ii.* 330. Being appointed to the vice-royalty of Deccan, dies in his way to it, at Aurungabad, his death ascribed to poison, *iii.* 101.
- Ghazee ad din, son of the preceding, receives all his father's titles, *ii.* 330. Seizes

- the person of Ahmed Shah, and sets up a son of Jehander in his stead, 331. Changes his name to Umad al Mulk, 332. Revolts and takes Delhi, 333. Contrives the murder of Aulungeer, 334. Having set Mohee al Sunnut on the throne, retires to one of the strongest forts in the country of Surajee Mul, 335. With Soorajee Mul joins the Mahratta army against the Duranees, 336. Further mention of, iii. 200, 203, iv. 39.
- Gheause, sovereign in Deccan, lost his throne and his eyes, after reigning a month, ii. 245.
- Gheriah, taken by Clive, iii. 121.
- Ghoofar Seyd, after beginning his career in the English service, acts against them under Tippoo Saib, v. 92, 93.
- Gholam Kadur, his traitorous and cruel conduct towards the Emperor Shah Aulum, vi. 345, note.
- Gholam Mahomed kills his eldest brother, and usurps the Rohilla government, vi. 33. Conduct of the English on that occasion, *ibid.*
- Ghurka, English expedition against the Raja of, iii. 309.
- Gibbon, on the pretensions of rude nations to high antiquity, quoted, i. 107, note, 109, note. Charges the laws of the twelve tables with having been written in blood, 176. Characterizes retaliation as an inhuman and unequal principle, 177, note. Denominates Blackstone the *orthodox* judge, 187, note. Quoted on the allegorical terms of Pagan mythology, 263. Of all religions, pronounces the Egyptian to be the most contemptible and abject, 264. As-erts supineness and carelessness of futurity to be the invariable character of savage nations, 334, note. Quoted on the carpets and linen garments of the Goths, ii. 12, note. On the inferences to be derived from the Heruli and Lombards in their native wilds cultivating flax, 21, note. His character of the Khoran, 31, note. Says that the art and genius of history have ever been unknown to the Asiatics, *ibid.* Makes the modern Persians totally ignorant of the victory of Sapor, *ibid.* Quoted on the investigation of metaphysical questions by the Mahomedans, 55. On the copiousness of the Arabian language, 63, note. Supposes all the Scythian and much of the Indian science to have been derived from the Greeks, 77, note. Characterizes pastoral manners as adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life, 111, note. Quoted on the little skill of the Persians in the military art; 150. On exaggerated accounts of the Egyptians, 162, note. His first object in writing to inspire admiration, to impart knowledge only his second, 169, note.
- Gifts, to the priests, in the Hindn religion, form an essential part of expiation and sacrifice, i. 131.
- Gilchrist, Mr., supposes the digits and the letters of the alphabet of the Hindus to have been hieroglyphics, ii. 80, note.
- Gillies, Dr., his account of the sumptuous tissues and houses of the Babylonians, ii. 13, note.
- Gingee, taken by the French, iii. 77. Attacked by the English unsuccessfully, 90. Taken by the English, 185.
- Gingens, Captain, defeated by Chunda Sahib and the French near Volconda, iii. 80.
- Gingis Khan, chief of a Tartar tribe called Moguls, formidable combinations of Tartar tribes formed by him, ii. 187. Takes Pekin and adds the northern provinces of China to his empire, 188. Other places reduced to his sovereignty, *ibid.* His death, *ibid.* Possessions of his descendants, 216.
- Glass making, art of, known to the Hindus, but not sufficiently to be turned to any useful purpose, ii. 32. First discovered by the Jews, *ibid.*, note.
- Goa, the great Mart between the Portuguese and the Indians, i. 14. Portuguese masters of, 28. Blockaded by the Dutch, 60. Taken by Mohammed, son of Nizam, ii. 350.
- Goddard, General, succeeds to the command of the troops on march from Bengal to Bombay, iv. 36. Entrusted with powers to negotiate with the rulers of Berar, 37. Situation in which he is placed by imperfect and contradictory intelligence, 35. Marches across India to Surat, 26. On the failure of the negotiation, takes the field and storms Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzerat, 39. Surprizes the camp of Scindia and puts his army to flight, 40. Takes Bassein, 212. Farther operations of his army, *ibid.*
- Godheu, M., sent to negotiate a peace with the English, and supersede Dupleix, as governor of Pondicherry, iii. 98. Having effected the object of his mission departs for Europe, 103.
- Godolphin, Lord, appointed arbitrator between the old and new East India Company, on their union, i. 105. The Company how constituted at that period, iii. 2.
- Gods, multiplicity of, acknowledged by the the Hindus, i. 231. Lofty description of their attributes in the Hindu Books, 234. Meaning of these expressions in the mouths of rude people illustrated, 236, and note. How described by several nations, 237. Excessive growth of flatery to the gods exemplified in the Hindus, 255. Ideas of the gods rude, where ideas of the mundane system are rude,

improvement of the civil judicature, 6. His conduct censured by the Directors, 11, and note, 12. Tenders his resignation to the Court of Directors by a private agent, 12, and note, 13. On his resignation being accepted, disavows his agent, and refuses to resign, 14. Removes Mr. Bristow from Oude, and replaces Mr. Middleton, 15. Recalls Mr. Fowke from Benares, *ibid.* Disobeys the Directors, who order these persons to be restored, 16. Re-establishes Munny Begum and the Naib Subahdar, 20. Recommends a connexion with the government of Berar, 27. Fights a duel with Mr. Francis, 45. His journey to Benares, 254. On his arrival, puts the Rajah under arrest, 267. See Benares. His conduct respecting the plunder at Bidgegur, 285, 286. His treatment of the Rajah of Benares condemned by the Directors, 288. His defence of his conduct in the proceeding, 289. On his arrival at Oude, removes Mr. Bristow from the office of resident, 302. Agrees with the Nabob of Oude to plunder the Begums, 304. His conduct in this proceeding animadverted upon and reprobated, 310. Receives a present of 100,000*l.* from the Nabob, 324. Gives the Nabob permission by treaty to despoil Fyzoolla Khan, 335. Sets aside an inquiry into his conduct respecting the Begums, ordered by the Directors, 341. His appointment of Mr. Bristow to the Court of Oude, 343; and subsequent ill-treatment of that gentleman, 347. Designs against Mr. Bristow, *ibid.* His plan for the removal of the residency from Oude, 350. Charged with the practice of suborning letters, 352. Repeats his visit to Oude, 355. Witnesses at Benares the miserable effects of his own measures, 356. Resigns and embarks for England, 257. Financial results of his administration, *ibid.* His intrigues against Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, 361. Things to be considered in reviewing his conduct and character as Governor-General, 366. His conduct respecting Scindia and Shah Aulum, v. 11. His reply to a charge of connivance with Scindia, 16. Impeachment of, contemplated, 35. Mode of proceeding against him recommended by Mr. Burke, 36. Articles of charge against him enumerated, 47. Charge against him as to Rohilla war, voted by House of Commons, unimpeachable, 48. Change in the sentiments of ministry on this charge ascribed to some unknown cause, 51, and note. Commencement of proceedings on his impeachment, 54. Difficulties respecting his impeachment, as to evidence, 55. Articles of impeachment voted by parliament, 58. Charges detailed, 70, note. Commencement of his trial, 74. Mana-

gers of the trial propose to decide on each article separately, which is opposed by his counsel, 79. The court sides in the question with the lawyers, 81. Proceedings on the first charge, relating to Cheyte Syng, 86. His counsel argue against putting questions tending to lessen the credit of witnesses, *ibid.* The court agrees with the counsel, 90. The majority of witnesses favourable both to Mr. Hastings and his crimes, *ibid.* Proceedings on the second charge, relating to the Begums of Oude, 91. Charge relating to presents, 92. Petitions the House of Commons against Mr. Burke's accusation of his having murdered Nuncomar by the hands of Sir Ilijah Impey, 92. Debate on the subject, 93. Copy of his letter to the India House excluded as evidence, 103. Minutes, containing the examination of Nuncomar respecting presents, objected to by the counsel, 104, and rejected by the Lords, 106. Evidence of minutes of a consultation signed by Mr. Hastings, objected to and excluded, 107. Instances of the exclusion of other evidence against him, 109. His speech complaining of the length of his trial, 122. Strange ideas of government disclosed by Mr. Hastings and his masters, 123. Other evidence produced against him, excepted to, 131, 140. The Commons agree to shorten the trial, 144. Proceedings on the fourth charge, of his wasting public money on dependants, 147. His address to the Lords on the length of his trial, 151. Odium gradually attaching itself to the trial, investigated, 153. Causes to which the length of the trial is ascribable, 156, and note. Close of the trial on the part of the prosecution, 160. His defence, 162. Counsel heard in his defence, 164. Complains again of delay, and petitions the Lords on the subject, 165. His remittances to England, 166. Proceedings on the part of the defence closed, 168. Proceedings in reply, 173. Accuses Mr. Burke of falsehood, 177. Summing up of evidence by the managers, 183. Judgment of the Lords, 189. Sums voted to him by the East India Company, 193. Tributes of respect paid to him, *ibid.*, note. Summary review of his administration, 194-200, note. The real causes of the length of his trial, 201. Cause of his principal errors and misfortunes, 234. Havamaal, Scandinavian poem, character of, and extract from, *ii.* 86. Heath, Captain, hasty proceedings of, on the first hostilities in Bengal, *i.* 86. Henry, Dr., on the rude and indecent manners of the Anglo-Saxons, quoted, *i.* 321, note. Account by, of the Bards of the North, *ii.* 61, note. Helvetius, on the cause of avarice in Eastern

nations, quoted, i. 337. On the character of the Kamuschatkans, ii. 33, note.

Herodotus, quoted on the antiquity of nations, i. 107, note. On the division of political associations into classes, 127, note. On the division of land, by Sesostris, among the people, 211, note. On the respect of the Egyptian priests for every thing that has life, 296, note. On the mode of counting by the Egyptians and Greeks, ii. 67, note. On the character of the Indians, whose mode of life resembled the Bactrians, 112, note.

Heroes, worship of, how occasioned, i. 272. Supposed not to have been an early practice with the Hindus, *ibid.*

Herri Sing, defeated and massacred by Hyder Ali, iii. 312

Hill, Mr., Member of the Madras Council, dismissed from the Company's service, iv. 112

Himu, Vizir, account of, ii. 267

Hindus, their division of the present age of the world, i. 105, and note W. Account of their pretended primitive sire, 110. Character which they assign to the several yugs or divisions of the world, 114. Resemblance of their yugs to the four ages of the world by the Greeks, *ibid.* note. Their legends not reconcilable with any order of real events, 115. Destitute of historical records, 116. Have no record of so recent an event as that of Alexander's expedition, 117, and note W. Their customs and manners the same now as in the early period of their history, 118. The institution of their theocracy particularly referred to the divinity, 121. Their division into castes proves the remoteness of their institutions, 125. Account of the first caste, the Brahmins, or priests, *ibid.* The second caste, the Chatriyas, or military class, 133. Third caste, the Vaisyas, or husbandmen, 135. Singular degradation of the fourth class, called Sudras, or servants, 136. Hindu form of government, 141. Prerogatives and duties of their king, 144, military, 145; judicial, 147. Their mode of administering justice, 142. Analysis of their constitution, 144. Their code of laws, 149. Division and arrangement of their laws, 156. Their civil laws, 160. Laws of purchase and sale, 161. Of bailment, 162, and note W. Of letting and hiring, 163. Of loans, *ibid.* Of succession, 169. Hindus not acquainted with the power of disposing of property by testament, 171. Their penal laws, 175. Cruelty of their laws, 176, and note. Their law of retaliation, 177. Inequality in their punishments, 180. Want of proportion in their punishments, 182. Their classes of offences, 183. Their laws of judicature, 187. Their laws relating to evidence, 188. Their different modes of

trial by the law of ordeal, 194. Their law in what respect deficient in exactness, 197. Their practice of determining lawsuits by arbitration, 200, note. Outline of their ancient system of taxation, 201. Their tax on the produce of the soil, 204. On moveables, 206. On purchases and sales, *ibid.* Poll tax, 207. Property in land, by the ancient laws and institutions of the Hindus belonged solely to the king, 212. Their present practice in this respect corresponds with ancient law, 215. General picture of the Hindu mode of occupying the land and sharing its produce, 217. Advantages and disadvantages of the Hindu mode of raising the public revenue from the land, 225. Scarcely any other mode known to the ancient Hindus but that of receiving taxes in kind, 227. Influence of religion on the condition of the Hindus, 223. Their accounts of the creation, 232. Lofty descriptions of the divine attributes in their books, 235. Their ideas of providence, 242. Account of the Avatars in their mythology, 243. Their three divinities or trinity, 252. Persecution and controversies occasioned by this distinction of their gods, 254, and note, 257. Their mythology not easily allegorized, 263. Worshippers of the sun, 269. Their worship of heroes, 272, of abstract ideas, *ibid.*; of the elements, 274. Their religious ceremonies, 277, 350. What held impurities by them, 278. Their penances, 279. Their Fakeers, 284. Austerities practised by their Yogees, or penitents, 285. Their practice of human sacrifices, 287. Pure language of their morality, 290. Their obscene worship, 294, and note, 295, and note. Their worship of animals and plants, 296. Their doctrine of the metempsychosis, 299. Their idea of future rewards, and punishments, 301. Their manners, 303. Their students, 304. Their marriage ceremonies and observances, 307, 363. Condition of their women, 309. Their power of divorce, 314. Practice of polygamy, 315. Their grossness of language, 321. Their gentleness, 322. Their proneness to adulation, 324, and note. Their practice of falsehood and perjury, *ibid.* and note. Their insensibility to the feelings of others, 326, note. Their inhospitality, cruelty and ferocity, 327, 328. Their timidity, 329. Their litigiousness, *ibid.* Their proneness to foul language, 330. Their physical form, 331. Acuteness of their organs of sense, 332. Their love of repose accounted for, 333. Their amusements, 334. Their jugglers and buffoons, 335. Their avarice, 336. Their mode of transacting bargains, 337. Simplicity observed by them in the furniture of their

- by the Emperor and his favourite, *ibid.*
 Measures of his government in Deccan, 310. Further plots against the life both of him and his brother, 312. Succeeds with his brother in dethroning Ferokhsier, 313. Both defeated by Nizam al Mulk, 316. Ifussun assassinated, *ibid.*, and Abdoolah taken prisoner, *ibid.*
- Hyde, Justice, countenances the proceedings of the attorney against the Phoujdar of Dacca, *iv.* 207
- Hyder Ali, extent of his army and resources, *iii.* 181. Deceives the French in his promised aid of troops and provisions, *ibid.* Commencement of his war in Carnatic with the English, *ibid.* Account of him previous to that period, 320. Origin of his first war with the English, 331. Defeats Colonel Smith near Changamal, *ibid.* Attacked by the English, with some advantage, near Trinomalee, 332. Offer of peace made by him, treated with haughtiness by the Presidency, 335. Takes Mulwaggle, and gains advantages over Colonel Wood, *ibid.* Surprises the Presidency by a sudden appearance at Madras, and compels them to a hasty peace, *ibid.* Harassed by the Mahrattas, courts the assistance of the English, *iv.* 56. Makes peace with the Mahrattas, at a great expense, both of money and territory, 61. War with the Mahrattas being renewed, he again seeks an alliance with the English, 118. Offended with the English for their attack on Mahé, *ibid.* Forms a treaty with the Mahrattas and Nizam Ali, for a system of combined operations against the English, 121. Plunders Porto Novo and Congeveram, 123. Amount of his army, and dismay occasioned by the ruin which it spread round Madras, *ibid.* From the oppressive measures of the English, is well received in Carnatic, notwithstanding his devastations, 127. After several conquests, lays siege to Arcot, 227. Defeats Colonel Baillie, 128. Defeats Baillie in a second engagement, and obliges him to surrender, 132. Harasses the English in their retreat to Madras, 136. Takes Arcot, and other forts, 142. Reduces the fortress of Thiagar, and overruns Tanjore, 146. Repulses General Coote, at the fortified Pagoda of Chillumbrum, 147. Ventures a battle and is defeated, 149. Ventures another battle, which is ill managed by the English, 151. Suffers in a slight skirmish before Velore, 153. Promptitude with which he obtains intelligence, *ibid.* His spirited answer to an offer of peace, 156. His death, 184
- Hyder Jung, Duan of Bussy, account of, *iii.* 151. Assassinated, 152
- Hyder Khan, employed to assassinate Husan, which he executes, *ii.* 312
- Hyder Beg Khan, minister of the Nabob of Oude, Mr. Bristow's instructions how to treat him, *iv.* 344. Accusing letter of Mr. Hastings to, 345. Pretended letter from, accusing Mr. Bristow, 347. Duplicity of Mr. Hastings' conduct respecting both the Nabob and minister, 350. His death, *vi.* 29. Succeeded by Raja Tickalt Roy, 30
- Ibrahim, Sultan, reign of, *ii.* 180
- Ibrahim, son of Sekunder, his reign, *ii.* 225
- Iceland, first chiefs in, built none but large houses, *ii.* 6, note.
- Ideas, abstract. See Abstract Ideas. Religious, origin of, *i.* 229. Second stage in the progress of, 230. Have a less tendency to improve than language, 237. Ideas of religious purity and impurity, how occasioned, 278
- Impeachment, no excellence in the British constitution without the efficiency of, 145, 147, 150. Impeachment not abated by dissolution of parliament, 145, 149. See the next article, and Hastings.
- Impey, Sir Elijah, Chief Justice of Bengal, nature of his defence upon the charge respecting Nuncomar, *iii.* 450. His misstatement of facts relative to the Patna cause, *iv.* 239, note. Appointed Judge of the Sudder Duannee Adaulut, 248. See Sudder Duannee Adaulut. Recalled to answer to charges against him, 251. Proceedings respecting his impeachment, *v.* 59. Charged as the agent of Mr. Hastings in the murder of Nuncomar, 92
- Impurity, causes of according to the institutes of Menu, and the means of purification, *i.* 278. See Further Ideas.
- Incarnations of Vishnu, enumerated and described, *i.* 243, et seq.
- Incas, their theological notions, *i.* 240, note. Wise sayings of an Inca on religious worship, 267, note. Moral sayings, 293, note. Manner in which they were educated, *ii.* 83, note.
- India, extent of the British dominions in, *i.* 1. Voyages to, by the Cape of Good Hope, attempted, 7. North-west provinces of, early subject to a foreign yoke, *ii.* 165. Invaded by Mahmood, 172, 179. Invaded three times by Nusaoood, successor to Mahmood, 179. Invaded by Ibrahim, 181. Expeditions of Byram into, *ibid.* Expeditions of Mahomed, the Gaurian, 259, 261. Sovereignty of, claimed by Koottub, 188. Invaded by the Moguls, 189. Invaded by Timur, 192. Deplorable state of the morals of the natives of, *v.* 412, 420. Rumour of an invasion of, by the King of the Afghans, *vi.* 92
- India bills. See the names of the respective persons by whom they were introduced.
- Indictment, bill of, remarks on, *v.* 42
- Indigence of a people, the grand source of

- delinquency, v. 412. Remedy for this evil, 415.
- Indore, Holkar's capital, taken by Colonel Murray, vi. 409.
- Influence, one of the articles in the impeachment of Mr. Hastings, v. 159. Instances of his having created it for corrupt purposes, 158.
- Influence, parliamentary, the lawful source of all our misgovernment, v. 19.
- Inglish, Ambalce, produces hostile operations against Scindia, vi. 431; seized and tortured by Holkar, 437, and note.
- Ingulph, his palace, ii. 6, note.
- Inheritance. See Succession.
- Inland or private trade in India, severity of the East India Company's proceedings against, i. 99. Thrown open, iii. 327. See farther, East India Company.
- Innovation, aversion of the Hindus to, ii. 14, note. Opposition to, in the English, condemned, *ibid.*
- Inquiry into the sources of revenue, office of, proposed and established by Mr. Hastings, iv. 6, 9. Severe strictures of the Court of Directors upon this office, 12.
- Insurrection, a check on the abuse of sovereign power, ii. 346.
- Interlopers, proclamation obtained by the East India Company against, *ibid.* 17.
- Investiture of children entering their class, Hindu ceremony of, i. 362.
- Ishmael, his conquests, ii. 239.
- Isis, inscription on the statue of, i. 237.
- Jajahan, taken by an Afghann Chief, ii. 387. Retaken by Thomas Koolce Khan, *ibid.*
- Jaffer, Mohamed, appointed renter, *ibid.* 113. His contest with the Nabob of Carnatic and the English, 388. Defeats Hyder Ali at the pass of Natam, 312. Admirable character of his government, iv. 127.
- Jants or Jits, Eastern tribe, ii. 124. Territory inhabited by, 335, note. Expedition undertaken for their entire reduction, 332. War of Nujuf Khan with, *ibid.* 415.
- Jaffier Khan, Sulahdar of Bengal, account of, *ibid.* 19, 92.
- Jaffier, Meer, Nabob of Bengal, his concern in deposing Suraja Dowla, *ibid.* 93, 97. His character, 104. His designs against Doolob Ram, 192. Desperate nature of his own situation from his exactions and cruelties, 304. Dethroned, 212. Terms on which he is restored, 229. Demands made on him by the Council, 218. His death, 250. Sums paid by him to the servants of the Company on revolutions in his favour, 256, 257. Sums restored to him, 258.
- Jaghire tenure, nature of, iv. 40.
- Jagnel, taken by Sivajee, ii. 297. Retaken by Shalsta Khan, *ibid.*
- James, Commodore, takes Severndroog and Bancoote, *ibid.* 120.
- James the First, drolls demanded from the East India Company by, i. 35.
- James the Second, his opinion against persons under the king's commission acting in India, i. 74, note.
- Jaonlee, Rajah of, treacherously put to death by Sivajee, *ibid.* 315.
- Japan, discovered by the Portuguese, i. 3. Trade to, projected by the English East India Company, 73. Term of the Japanese government, 142, note. Skill of the Japanese in all handicraft arts, *ibid.* 31, note.
- Java, East India Company's agents retire from, and go to Lagundy, i. 42.
- Jehanara, renders important service to her brother Aurungzebe in a critical situation, *ibid.* 299.
- Jehandar Shah. See Mohr ad Dien.
- Jehangire. See Mohamed Jehangire.
- Jenkinson, crosses the Caspian Sea, and opens a commercial intercourse with Persia, i. 12.
- Jeswant Sing, deserts the cause of Dara, through the artifice of Aurungzebe, *ibid.* 217. Is invested with the government of Guzerat, and sent against Sivajee, whom he defeats, 290. On his death, his children, refusing to become Mohammedans, occasion a war with the Rajpoots, 295.
- Jewan Bakht, son of Alee Gohur, proclaimed Emperor by the Mahrattas, *ibid.* 312.
- Jewellery, little skill of the Hindus in, *ibid.* 21. State of, among the Hebrews and other nations, 21, and note.
- Jey Sing, Rajah of Abnur, sent against Sivajee, *ibid.* 313. Suspected and superseded, 315. His death and character, *ibid.*, note.
- Jeyssing of Amberg, called to court by Ferokhsier, with designs against the Sord brothers, *ibid.* 309. Recommends violent measures, *ibid.*
- Johnson, Dr. Samuel, on the Celtic manners of the Highlands of Scotland, quoted, i. 218, note.
- Johnson, Mr., deprived of his seat in the Madras Council, iv. 112.
- Johnson, Mr., assistant resident to Fyzoolla Khan, his misrepresentations of that Prince, iv. 350.
- Johnstone, Commodore, his engagement with Suffrein, in Praya Bay, iv. 168.
- Jones, Sir William, quoted on the Hindu pedigrees and fables, i. 112, note, 113, note. On the Mohammedan law of succession, 172, note. On the mutilations practised by the Hindus, 177. Uses inaccurately the word paramount, 306, note. Quoted on the tenure of land in India, 213. On the theology of the Hindus, 243, note. On the ninth Avatar of the Hindus, 250, notes. On the acknowledgment, by the learned Indians, of only one Supreme Being, 259, note. On the prevalence among nations of pure Theism, 262, note. On the similarity of the Pagan deities, and

- their similar derivation, 268. On the morality of the Hindus, 290. On the Sanscrit being vernacular in Hindustan, 294, note. On the habitual perjury of the Hindus, 324, 325. Ascribes falsely three inventions to the Hindus, ii. 39, and note. On the state of the mechanical arts with the Chinese, 33. Mistaken in his ideas of the Hindu poet Valmiki, and his poem entitled *Ramayana*, 35, note. Hyperbolizes the merit, in representation of the *Sacountala*, drama of the Hindus, 41. Exaggerated merit attributed by him to the Persian poem, entitled *Shah Namm*, 45, and note. His account of the Vedantist doctrine, 56. Accused of not understanding the doctrines of Berkeley and Hume, 56. Charged with being ignorant of the intercourse which subsisted between the Hindus and the people of the West, 77, note. His credulity respecting the Hindus, 83. Says of the Pandits, that they deal out the law as they please, and make it where it is not ready made, 85, note. Entertains extravagant notions of Hindu civilisation, 108. Mistaken in supposing the Hindus never went abroad, 156, note. His extravagant panegyrics of the wandering Arabs, 110. Charged with being blind, in his theories, to every thing but what is in his own favour, 130, note. Supposes the Indian king Rama, to be the Hanumah of Scripture, the son of Cushi, 131, note. Characterises the Hindu code as a system of despotism and priestcraft, artfully conspiring for the support of each other, 152. Quoted on the Hindus' practice of medicine, 147, note W. On the medicinal use, by the wandering Tartars, of herbs and minerals, 148, note. Supposed to have erroneously used the word immaterial, in his translation of the *Institutes of Menu*, 414.
- Jones, Major-General, succeeds Colonel Murray in the command of the Bombay army, vi. 465.
- Judges, in India, temptation to misconduct taken from, by taking away their fees, iv. 190, v. 314. Regulations respecting Judges of criminal proceedings, 315. Periodical reports required of judges, 316. How appointed in India, 436.
- Judicature, Hindu, i. 142, 187. Qualities desirable in a judicatory, 200. New judicature in India in 1726, account of, iii. 15. New judicature of 1773, 500. Courts of judicature in India, instruments by which the powerful oppress the weak, 412. Plan for the improvement of the civil judicature, iv. 8. Plans of judicature instituted by Lord Cornwallis, v. 380-384. Lord Mornington's ideas of the properties desirable in a judicial and financial system of government, vi. 135. See farther, Supreme Court, and Justice.
- Jugglers, Hindu, and others, i. 335.
- Judda, mode of calculation by the negroes of, ii. 87.
- Jumla, Emir, deserts the cause of Dara, through the stratagem of Aurungzeb, ii. 275.
- Junna, engagements with the petty princes near, vi. 415.
- Junnafee Anna, adds Salsette and Bassien to the conquests of the Mahrattas, iii. 427.
- Junkojee, Mahratta chief, defeated by Sujah ad Dowla, ii. 354.
- Jura, double meaning of the word with the Romans, and absurdity of the English lawyers in adopting it, i. 155, note.
- Jurisprudence, Hindu, nature of, i. 142.
- Justice, first imposed in India on every applicant for, v. 412. Deporable state of the administration of, in India, 418. Giving a good administration of, to India, not impossible, 436. How to be effected, 436-440. Vices opposed to the administration of justice, 440. Remedies for those vices, 441, 442. Character of the courts of justice in India, and cause of the delinquency of the people, 450.
- Kabool, invaded by the Afghans, ii. 215, 217. Detached from the dominions of the Mogul, and added to those of Nadir Shah, 289. Taken by Ahmed Abdallee, 305.
- Kalleen, plundered by Sivajee, ii. 291.
- Kam Bulsh, mortally wounded in a contest for the succession, ii. 301.
- Kandahar, wrested from the Moguls by Abbas, the Persian, ii. 47. Recovered by the treachery of its Governor, 212. Retaken by Shah Abbas the second, 214. Besieged twice by Aurungzeb, and once by Dara, unsuccessfully, *ibid*. Taken by Ahmed Abdallee, Afghann chief, 312.
- Kandesh, taken by Shah Jehan, ii. 192; and the government conferred on Mohabat, 193.
- Kanoge, taken by Mahmood, ii. 174.
- Keating, Dr., his account of the early genealogy of the Irish, i. 107.
- Keeling, Captain, expedition of, i. 19.
- Keigwin, Captain, revolt of, at Bombay, against the East India Company, i. 83.
- Kel Kobad, his love of pleasure, ii. 195. Particulars of his father's interview with, to reclaim him, 196. Dies of a palsy, 197.
- Kelleram, evidence of his unsuitness as a renter, not admitted on Mr. Hastings' trial, v. 134.
- Kelly, Colonel, dies in defending the passes to Carnatic from Mysore, v. 249.
- Kelly, Captain, commands a column at the taking of Deeg, vi. 419.
- Kennaway, Captain, sent to the Court of Nizam Ali, to negotiate the surrender of the Guntoor Circar, v. 225.
- Kennaway, Sir John, recommends engagements with the Nizam, which would

- render the English masters of his country for ever, vi. 17
- Khalisa, principal office of revenue, reformed, iii. 568
- Khutāse-tul-Tusarīk, historical Hindu book, ii. 102
- Khunch Rao, his birth, vi. 295, and note. Proclaimed head of the Holkar family, 312
- Kings, Hindu, ideas of, i. 141. Mode in which Hindu kings consult with their ministers, 141, and note. Military duties of Hindu Kings, 145. Judicial duties, 147. Kings and great men receive all the general titles of the deity, 272, note. Lost of a king placed in heaven, why, 228. All kings fond of hunting, 336, note. Table of Hindu kings, ii. 119
- Kurrant, book written by Nanuk, gives rise to a sect, ii. 392
- Kishnagherry, daring but unsuccessful attempt of Colonel Maxwell upon, v. 390
- Kivcher, ransacked for treasures by Lally, ii. 158
- Knox, Captain, his march to Patna, iii. 210. His gallant defeat of the Naib of Poorania, 211. Commands a column in a night attack on the camp of Tippeo Saib, v. 431, 436
- Kuax, traveller, describes the Chinese as if born solely for hewing rocks, ii. 7
- Kuempfer, on the form of the Hindu government, quoted, i. 142, note. On the superior skill of the Japanese in all handicrafts, ii. 32, note.
- Kokun, or Concan, whole region of, taken by Sivajee, ii. 312
- Koollee Khan, Mohammed, subahdar of Allahabad, one of the confederacy against Bengal, iii. 172. Taken prisoner and put to death, 174, 412
- Koran, superior in composition to any work of the Hindus, ii. 47, note.
- Kummer al Dien Khan, appointed vizir by Mohammed Shah, ii. 312. Killed in his tent by a cannon ball, in the war with Ahmed Abdallee, 317
- Labourdonnais, governor of the French Indian Islands, takes Madras, iii. 37. Account of, 39. His engagement with the English fleet off Fort St. David, 45. Disensions between him and Dupleix, 48. Honourable treatment he receives when made a prisoner by the English, 51. His unhappy fate in France, *ibid.*
- Laguady, settlement at, by the English East India Company, i. 42
- Lahore, pillaged by the Mohammedans under Mahmood, ii. 250. Taken by Ahmed Abdallee, 327. Taken by the Setks and Mahrattas, 335
- Lake, General, commendations bestowed on him by the Governor-General, vi. 337. Takes the field, 338. The destruction of General Perron his main object, 345; Marches towards Delhi, 352. Title bestowed on him by the Emperor, 358. His march to Agra, 358. Takes possession of Agra, 359. His gallantry in the battle of Laswaree, 363. Defeats part of Holkar's cavalry, 396. Authorised to open a negotiation with Scindia, 459, 465. His proceedings with Holkar, 465; towards the Rajah of Boondee and Jyepoor, 467. towards the Rajahs of Bhurtpore and Macherrey, 469
- Lalande, his tables quoted by Bailly, ii. 69
- Lal Darg, treaty of, between Tizoolia Khan and the Nabob of Oude, iii. 406, iv. 379
- Lall Koor, concubine of Jehandar Shah, ii. 314
- Lally, Count De, his arrival at Fort St. David with a strong reinforcement from France, iii. 146. His precipitate conduct, 147. His character, 153. Outrages the feelings of the Hindus, 151. Excites the animosity of his countrymen in India, 155. State of his forces, *ibid.* His operations cramped by the want of supplies, 156. His expedition against Tanjore, 158. Takes Arcot, 163. Is joined by Bussy, *ibid.* His operations against Madras, 166. Compelled to abandon the siege, 168. His mortification at the departure of D'Aché from Pondicherry, 173. Disagrees with Bussy as to operations against Wandewash, 176. Is defeated, 179. Endeavours to obtain assistance from Mysore for the protection of Pondicherry, 181. Judicious plan formed by him, for attacking the English, disconcerted, 182. Compelled for want of stores, to surrender Pondicherry, 185. Atrocious cruelty with which he was treated by his countrymen on his return to France, 186. His execution denominated a "murder committed with the sword of justice," 187. His son, a member of the Constituent Assembly, on the reduction of the French monarchy, *ibid.*
- Launcester, Captain, lands at Acheen, i. 19
- Land, nature of the tenure of, with the Hindus, i. 207, 225, note. The sovereign generally the proprietor of, with rude nations, 211, 214, note. Royal grant of land engraved on copper found among the ruins of Monguir, 213, note. Picture of the general mode of occupying land, and sharing its produce, in India, 217. Tenure of land in Europe, after the conquest of the Gothic nations, 226
- Language, copiousness ascribed to the Sanscrit language, ii. 63. Qualities forming the perfection of language, *ibid.*, note. Redundancy in language as great a defect as deficiency, 64. Language of the Chilians, Malays, and Mexicans, 45, and note. Language of the Anglo-Saxons, *ibid.*

- Larkins, Mr., his evidence on Mr. Hastings' trial, v. 17.
- Lassaree, battle of, vi. 361. Gallant conduct of the British troops at, 361.
- Laurence, Major, commissioned to command the whole of the Company's forces in India, iii. 55. Taken prisoner in the trenches of Pondicherry, 57. Takes Devicotah, 61. Joins Narir Jung with a reinforcement of 600 Europeans, 75. Returns to England, at a critical period for his army, 80. Returns from England, and joins the army with a reinforcement at Arcot, 85. Accused by Duplex of having commanded the murder of Chunda Sahib, 87. Defeats the French near Bahoor, 90. Character of him and his army, 90. Summoned to the defence of Trichinopoly, 92. Heads the troops in the defence of Madras against the French, 169.
- Law, M., blamed for not having intercepted a reinforcement sent under Major Laurence to Arcot, iii. 85, note. His retreat to Serilingham, condemned by Duplex, deemed prudent by the English, 86, note. Reveals to Suraja Dowla the disaffection of his principal officers, 127. With the Mahrattas invades Patna, 209. Repulsed in an attack upon Patna, and compelled to abandon the siege, 210. Distinction with which he is treated by the English on being taken prisoner, 219, and note.
- Law, Mr., one of the council of Mr. Hastings, v. 79. Appeals against the strong animadversions of Mr. Burke, and opposes the mode of proceeding, *ibid.* His censure of brow-beating witnesses, 90. Dictum by him, that accusation without proof is slander, investigated, 117. Rebuked for intemperate language, 118. Admonished by the Lord Chancellor, 119. His spirited remonstrance against the managers, 144, note. His defence of Mr. Hastings, 161.
- Law, Mr., brother of the preceding, his speech on a motion of thanks to the managers of Mr. Hastings' trial, v. 187. His speech defended, 188, note.
- Law, Mr., Member of the Provincial Council at Patna, prosecuted by the Supreme Court in India, iv. 237.
- Law, Martial, East India Company entrusted with the exercise of, i. 41. Instance of its exercising it, 78.
- Laws, Hindu code of. See Hindus. When two laws command opposite things, both held valid by the Hindus, i. 171. Minuteness of details in laws no proof of refinement, 172, note. Cruelty and the principle of retaliation, features of the laws of a rude people, 176. Qualities desirable in a body of laws, 197. No nation has so great a portion of unwritten laws as the English, 198. Taxes on law proceedings, a mine of immorality, 201. Resemblance of the laws of the Mohammedans to those of the Romans, English, and other nations, ii. 353. Benefits, as to laws, conferred on the French by Napoleon, 355. Defects of the English code of laws, *ibid.* English laws charged with being more cruel than the Mohammedan law of mutilation, 357. Mischief of ill-worded and indefinite laws, iv. 112. Interpretation of law by courts of law and by parliament, how different, v. 10. Wherever the law is uncertain, or unknown, servitude exists, 210. Impost on commencement of suits of law in India, abolished by Lord Cornwallis, 412. The object of a body of laws, to define and secure rights, 416. Hindu and Moslem, by what standard governed, 416, and note. Irrational notions of Englishmen on the subject of law, 417. Suits of law few, where the administration of justice is good, 431. Number of suits of law, a test of the administration of justice, *ibid.* Defects of the law in India, one of the causes of the depravity of the people, 442.
- Law-suits, committee of, at the India House, its functions, iii. 5.
- Lawyers, wish to establish a belief that it is criminal to express blame of them, v. 214. Publicity and censure the grand remedy for their misconduct, 216.
- Leeds Duke of, impeached, i. 93.
- Legislation, definition of, by ancient authors, vi. 183, note.
- Leslie, Colonel, commands a force destined to march across India, from Bengal to Bombay, iv. 26. Receives instructions not to proceed beyond Berar, 27. In the course of his progress engages in negotiations and transactions with the local chiefs, 32. Accused of delay, and recalled; his death and character, 33.
- Leslie, Professor John, quoted on the mathematical science of the Hindus, ii. 77.
- Letting and hiring, law of, with the Hindus, i. 163. Language of English law defective on this branch of contract, *ibid.*, note.
- Lerant Company. See Turkey.
- Life, periods into which it is divided by the Hindus, i. 304.
- Lindsay, Sir John, appointed king's commissioner in India, iv. 48. Alarm of the Company's servants, on learning the powers with which he is invested, 50. Consequences arising from its investiture, *ibid.* Assumes authority over the President and Council of Madras, 51. Widens the difference between the Nabob and Presidency in Carnatic, 53. Is recalled, 57.
- Lingam, Hindu worship of, i. 294, and note.
- Literature, state of, in a country, the best

- test of civilisation, ii. 33. State of Hindu literature, 34. Literature of the Mohammedans superior to that of the Hindus, 368
- Litigiousness, origin of, in the Hindu character, i. 329
- Little, Captain, in the army under Lord Cornwallis, reduces the fort of Hooley Honore, v. 292. Defeats a detachment of Tippoo Saib's army in a strong position on the river Toom, 293
- Liverpool, rapid increase of the town of, from the year 1699 to 1726, iii. 19
- Livy, on the attention due to the historical fables of early society, quoted, i. 110, note.
- Loans, difference between in the early and improved state of society, i. 163. Hindu laws respecting, 164
- Lodi, commander of an army in Deccan, revolts against Shah Jehan, but speedily repents, ii. 260. His treatment when called to court, and its consequences, 261. Proceedings of the Emperor against him, *ibid.* His brave defence against the whole army of Jehan, and death, 262
- Lombe, Sir Thomas, excellence of his patent invention for throwing silk, iii. 17
- Looms of the Hindus, wretched state of, ii. 14
- Lords, house of, protest by, on the mode of proceeding in Mr. Hastings' trial, 84. Decide against admitting uncertain evidence, 107. The authority of the judges applied for on the subject, 109, which coincide with them, *ibid.* The decision complained of from not being accompanied with the reasons on which it was founded, 109. Determine in a committee, that the trial, according to precedent, was regular, 122. Proceedings of, previous to judgment, on the trial, 188. Their final judgment, 189
- Lotteries, condemned, i. 204
- Loughborough, Lord, confirms the doctrine of the efficiency of impeachment, v. 150
- Lubin, St., adventurer to India from France, account of, iv. 23
- Lucan, Lieutenant, taken prisoner by Holkar, vi. 405
- Lucknow, taken by the English, iii. 337. Visited by Mr. Hastings, iv. 356
- Lumsden, resident at Oude, resigns, vi. 133
- Macartney, Lord, on the character of the Russians, quoted, i. 323, note. Accounts for the excellence of the Chinese in dyeing scarlet, ii. 17, note. Mathematical instruments discovered by him at Peking, prove the science of the Chinese to have been borrowed, 77. Charged with inconsiderateness in his account of Chinese husbandry, 153. Quoted on the Chinese knowledge of mathematics and astronomy, 154, note. Appointed Governor of Madras, iv. 156. Takes Sadras and Pulicat, *ibid.* Offers peace to Hyder and the Mahrattas, 157. Attacks Negapatam against the opinion of the Commander-in-chief, 158, and takes it, 159. Urbanity of his conduct to Sir Eyre Coote, 165, note. His contest with General Stuart, who fails in seconding his designs upon Hyder's army, on the death of its chief, 189. Puts the General under arrest, and sends him to England, 195. His, the first instance of a servant of the King being placed in a high station in India, 202. Treated treacherously by Mr. Hastings, when attempting to secure harmony and co-operation, 206. Refuses to obey the order of the Supreme Council to send a second treaty of peace to Tippoo Saib, in which the Nabob of Carnatic should be included, 210. Accused by the Nabob and his instruments, of incapacity, disorders, and cruelty, 364. Hesitation of the accusing parties to confirm the truth of their accusations by oath, 364. Refuses to obey the orders of the Governor-General to restore to the Nabob his revenues, 365. Appointed Governor-General, v. 31. Does not accept the office, 32. Reforms proposed by him in the government of India, on his return to England, 36. Claims a peerage, 34
- Macaulay, Captain, one of the diplomatic committee, empowered to act in the war with Tippoo Saib, vi. 92
- Macdonald, Major, gives evidence against the Begums, iv. 312
- Mackenzie, Humberstone. See Humberstone.
- Macket, Mr., accused of quitting Calcutta improperly, iii. 116
- Mackintosh, Sir James, on the rude figures of men and monsters exhibited at Ellora, quoted, ii. 7, note. Conversation of, on theological metaphysics, with a young Brahman, 57
- Macleane, Mr., confidential agent of Mr. Hastings, announces to the Court of Directors his resignation, iv. 12
- Macleod, Colonel, appointed to the command of the Bengal army, iv. 188. Wounded on board the ship *Ranger*, engaged with the Mahratta fleet, 189.
- Macleod, Lord appointed to the command of the Madras army, iv. 123, 126
- Macpherson, M., succeeds Mr. Hastings as Governor-General, v. 7. History of his progress in the service of the Company, *ibid.* and 7, note. Distressed state of the government on his taking the chair, 8. The first objects of his administration,

- the affairs of the Nabob of Oude, and the proceedings of Scindia, 9 and 10, note. Macrac, Lieutenant-Colonel, commands a column at the taking of Deeg, vi. 419
- Madoo Row**, Mahratta chief, his contest with Hyder Ali, iii. 331
- Madoo Row**, Peshwa, iii. 413. Divisions among the Mahratta chiefs occasioned by his death, vi. 27. Succeeded by Bajee Row. See Mahrattas.
- Madras**, first settlement of the East India Company at, i. 52. Settlement not approved of by the Directors, 52. Erected into the Presidency of Fort St. George, 56. Formed into a corporation, 84. Attacked by the French, iii. 36. State of, 37. Capitulates, 38. Restored, 39. Again attacked, 166. Relieved, 168. Surprised and nearly taken by Hyder Ali, 335. Lands around, obtained by the Company, iv. 46. Disputes of its Presidency with Sir John Lindsay, King's commissioner, 51. Violent contentions among the members of the Council, 91. Several members of the Council suspended, 94. Lord Pigot the Governor, imprisoned, 95. Character of dispute in the council of, *ibid.* note. Transactions with the Zemindars, 106. Accused by the Directors of underselling the lands, 107. Its transactions with the Nizam, 109. Condemned by the Governor-General and Council, 110. Its Governor, and four members of its Council dismissed from the Company's service, 112. Presidency of, recommend to the Supreme Council peace with the Mahrattas, 121. Operation of its Council and Select Committee against the Mahrattas, 124. Alarmed at the approach of Hyder Ali, 127. Proceedings of the Supreme Council for assisting it, 137. Conduct of its Council on the treaty of the Nabob of Carnatic with the Supreme Council, 160. Causes of discontents in its Council, 163. Reduced to a state of famine, 180. Causes of the dissensions between its Presidency and the Supreme Council, 201. President of, appointed by the Board of Control in opposition to the Directors, v. 28. Tardiness of its government blamed by the Governor-General, 240. Its President condemns the war with Tippoo Saib, 241. Views of the Madras and Bengal governments in relation to Tippoo, *ibid.* Madras government recommends that the revenues of the Nabob of Arcot should be taken out of his hands, 256. Criticizes severely the arrangements respecting the Nabob made by Governor Campbell, 257. Authorised by the Supreme Council to execute the plan it recommended, *ibid.* Thrown into alarm by the sudden appearance of a party of horse in the neighbourhood, 298. Difference of opinion between the Governor and Council, on the treatment of the new Nabob of Arcot, vi. 41. Difference between the Madras Presidency and the Governor-General, relative to warlike preparations, for invading Mysore, 60
- Madura**, account of, iii. 103. War in, 104. Plan to reduce it to more profitable obedience, 139. Taken by the English, 144. Plundered by Hyder Ali, 146. Corrupt and oppressive government of, by the Company's servants, iv. 129
- Madury**, taken by Sivajee, ii. 319
- Mahadeva**, one of the gods of the Hindus, story of, i. 254
- Mahé**, taken by the English, iii. 263. Again, iv. 135
- Mahmood invades India**, ii. 173. Takes Tannasar and Delhi, 174. Found a University, 175. His expedition against Sumnaut, 176. Treasures discovered by him in the belly of one of its idols, 177, and note. His last exploit, death, and character, 178
- Mahmood the Second**, his reign, ii. 189. Subjects his wife to household drudgery, 190. Humanely erases a word criticised by an Omrah, 191
- Mahmood the Third**, distractions of the empire under his reign, ii. 212
- Mahmood**, son of Mahomed, sovereign in Deccan, ii. 240
- Mahomed**, prophet, Hindu story of, ii. 123 note.
- Mahomedans**, reduce the Hindus under their subjection, ii. 165. Conquer Persia, 167. Invade India, 169. Take Delhi, 171. Overrun Cashmere and invade Lahore, *ibid.* Take Sumnaut and reduce Guzerat, 173. Make Lahore the seat of government, 175. Take Delhi a second time, 180. Add Bahar and Bengal to their possessions, 184. Invade the Deccan, 194. History of their kingdoms in Deccan, 214. Their state of civilisation compared with that of the Hindus, 223. Their classification and distribution of the people, 247. Their form of government, 249
- Mahrattas**, power of, by whom founded, i. 67. Instance of the first application of the name to any tribe, ii. 246, note. Further account of the origin of the name, and extent of country through which their language is spoken, 279, and note. Account of their contests, with Aurungzeb, 296. Receive the chont or fourth part of the revenues of Deccan, to cease from their predatory incursions, 313. The provinces of Guzerat and Malwa reduced under their dominion, 317. Their mode of conducting their predatory warfare, *ibid.* Defeated by

Salut Khan, *ibid.* Obtain the payment of the chout for a peace with Ahmed Shah, 318. Two of their chiefs defeated in their plan for the entire subjugation of Hindustan, 332. Take the provinces of Lahore and Multan from the Abulsee prince, 335. Defeated by the Abulsee prince and their whole army nearly destroyed, 336. Operations of their chiefs against Buxey and Salabut Jung, *ibid.* 94. Conduct of, in Bengal, 162. Baramahal called to them by Hyder Ali, 326. Defeated at Paniput, 327. Further proceedings of, against Hyder, 332. Three of their chiefs, after a treaty with the Mogul emperor, escort him to Delhi, 352. Attack Zabita Khan, a Rohilla chief, and defeat him in battle, 365. With an army of 30,000 men ravage the country beyond the Ganges, and subdue the territory of Zabita, 358. Negotiations with, by the Subahdar of Oude, broken off, *ibid.* Restore Zabita Khan, and march against Delhi, which opens its gates to them, 391. Unsuccessful in attempting to gain over the Rohillas, 391. English take a part against them, 392. Their council of eight, 418. Leaders of the English army send an embassy to the Maharrattas, and are compelled to sign a treaty under their dictation, *iv.* 27, which is disavowed by the Supreme Council in Bengal, 37. War with, renewed, *ibid.* Lose Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzerat, 40. Their army under Scindia defeated, *ibid.* Defeated by Captain Popham, 41, and lose the fortress of Gwalior, 43. Invade Mysore, and distress Hyder Ali, 56. Seek the aid of the English, which is refused, *ibid.* Negotiate with Mahomed Ali, *ibid.* Extent of their conquests, 57. Make peace with Hyder, 58. With the English, 158. At war again with the English, 211. Their transactions in the Ghats, *ibid.* Termination of the war, 214. Negotiation with the Maharrattas of Poonah, 260. Territories yielded up by them, by treaty, 292. Injustice of the war with, tendered as evidence on Mr. Hastings' trial, but excluded, *v.* 150. Campaign of, with the English, against Tippee, 274. Jealous of the growing power of the English, and impatient to reap the spoil of the Nizam, *vi.* 16. At war with the Nizam, 27. Death of Mah-hoo Row, Peshwa of, 27. Claims relative to, in the English partition treaty with the Nizam, 118. Endeavour of the English to make the new Peshwa resign the military part of his government, 290, et seq. Negotiations for that purpose, 294. Peculiar crisis in Maharratta affairs, 296. Effect of Holkar's victory over Scindia upon the views of the Peshwa, 298. The Peshwa driven from Poonah, repairs to Bassein, 278. Treaty for the resignation

of his military power signed at Bassein, 280. Is restored, 291. New war with the Maharrattas, 304. Objects of this war, 324. Benefits derived from it examined, 355. For the operations of this war, see Holkar and Scindia.

Mall-colay, Hindu temple, account of, *ii.* 7

Maitland, Lieutenant-Colonel, killed in the assault of Bhurtpore, *vi.* 439

Mil, Mogul term of revenue explained, *v.* 378, note.

Malabar, coast of, marriage contract never introduced there, *i.* 319. Sexual intercourse there, how restricted, 329. Operations of the English in Malabar, *v.* 214. Its territory completely subdued by the English, *ibid.*

Malacca, Dutch settlement of, taken by the English, *vi.* 49

Malcolm, Captain, sent on an embassy to Persia, *vi.* 132. Terms of the alliance formed by him, 133

Malcolm, Sir John, on the state of civilisation in the time of Strabo, *quoted, ii.* 49. On Indian history, *ii.* 153, note. Accuses Lord Cornwallis of breaking faith with Tippee Saib, *v.* 229. Commends him for his contempt, in the war with Tippee Saib, of the restricting act, 312, note. Applauds Sir John Kennaway's recommendation of engagements with Nizam Ali, for the purpose of becoming masters of his country, *vi.* 17, note. His idea of the obligation created by assistance in war, 21. Cited, on the negotiations at Poonah, 68

Mallett, on the savages of Greenland, *quoted, i.* 341. Says the Scandinavians counted the units to 12, *ii.* 31, note.

Melville, battle of, *vi.* 65

Malwa, annexed to the Mughal dominions, *ii.* 291. Reduced under the dominion of the Maharrattas, 312

Man, reason for supposing him a recent creation, *i.* 129, note.

Manty, Captain, his invention for throwing ropes on board vessels threatened with shipwreck, known before to the French, *iii.* 44, and note.

Manchester, rapid increase of, in the early part of the eighteenth century, *iii.* 19

Mankelsee, on Indian paintings, *quoted, ii.* 27, note.

Marleville, on the origin of the admiration bestowed on the profession of arms, *quoted, i.* 134, note.

Mases, one of the Hindu sacraments, account of, *i.* 335

Maurapore, taken by the English, *iv.* 255. Invested by Tippee Saib, 159. Diversion in its favour, 199. Defence of, 266. Despicable state to which it was reduced previous to its surrender, 291

Manners, definition of, *i.* 203. State of, with the Hindus, *ibid.* A check on the

- abuse of sovereign power, *ii.* 341. Where manners are good they make up for many defects in the law, *v.* 417
- Manuscripts, Bengal, require from the badness of the paper to be transcribed every ten years, *ii.* 77
- Marphuz Khan, war in Madura and Tinnevely prolonged by him, *iii.* 87. Further account of him, 103. Instrumental in occasioning an alliance between Nizam Ali and Hyder Ali, 387
- Marawars, account of the war with, *iv.* 63. Their ruin effected, 65
- Marchand betrays Mahomed Issoof into the hands of his enemies, *iii.* 272
- Marlborough, Earl of, sent with a fleet to take possession of Bombay, *i.* 68.
- Marriage ceremonies of, among the Hindus, *i.* 307, 363. Not known on the coast of Malabar, 319. First instituted among the Greeks by Cecrops, and among the Egyptians by Menes, 319, note. Not observed by the Nasamones in Africa, nor by the ancient Indians of Peru, 321, note.
- Martial law, see Law.
- Mascarenhas, see Bourbon.
- Maskelyne, Mr., *iii.* 339
- Masulipatam, factory of the East India Company, established at, *i.* 42. Taken by the French, *iii.* 63. After a severe struggle, surrendered to the English, 199
- Mathematics, Hindu knowledge of, *ii.* 77
- Matthews, General, invades Mysore, *iv.* 187. Takes Bednore and other places, *ibid.* Refuses to divide any portion of the spoil, 188. Superseded, *ibid.* Matthews, his conduct examined, 189, note. Surprised in Bednore and taken prisoner, 190
- Maurice, Mr., acknowledges the monstrosity of the Hindu notions of the mundane system, *i.* 267, note. On the historic poetry of the Hindus, quoted, *ii.* 51, note. On the ancient kings of India, 131, note.
- Mauritius, island, origin of the name, *iii.* 33
- Mauzim, second son of Aurungzeb, from his father's fears of him, recalled from the government of Guzerat, *ii.* 278. Declared heir to the throne, and his name changed to Shah Aulum, *ibid.* His efforts in his father's illness to secure the succession, 279. Sent against Sivajee, 290. Characterised as celebrated for his astronomical learning, *ibid.*, note. Recalled from the army, 294. Sent into Concan, to reduce the Mahratta fortresses on the sea coast, 299. Imprisoned, with his sons, for remonstrating against the treachery aimed at the King of Golconda, *ibid.* Contest with his brother Azim, for the succession on the death of his father, 300. Ascends the throne, *ibid.*, and assumes the title of Bahadar Shah. His contest with his brother, Kām Buksh, who is mortally wounded, *ibid.* His expedition against the Seiks, 302. His death, 305. Further mention of, *iii.* 99
- Maxwell, Colonel, invades Baramahl, *v.* 249. Effects a junction with General Meadows at Caveripatam, 250. His daring attack on Kistnaghery, 286. Commands a detachment in a night attack on the camp of Tippoo Saib, 299. Killed in the battle of Assye, *vi.* 366.
- Mean motion, astronomy of the Hindus accurate respecting, *ii.* 73
- Medical art, state of, with the Hindus, *ii.* 147
- Meadows, appointed to the command of a land force in a secret expedition, *iv.* 168. Arrives with his troops in India, 170. Appointed Governor of Madras, *v.* 243. His instructions respecting Tippoo Saib, *ibid.* Correspondence between him and Tippoo, 245. His proceedings with the army in Mysore, 250. Returns to Madras, *ibid.* Happy turn of thought by, on the army being apprehensive of a mine, 285, note. Commands a column in the night attack on Tippoo, 299, 303. Instance of the harmony subsisting between him and Lord Cornwallis, 307, note. His gallant conduct in the siege of Seringapatam, 312. Resigns his share of prize money, 327. Superseded in the Presidency of Madras by Sir C. Oakley, *vi.* 40
- Merran, son of Meer Jaffier, his atrocities when left by his father Governor of Chandernagor, *iii.* 191. Commotions occasioned by his fear at Moorshedabad, 199. His designs against Dooloob Ram, 195. He is characterised as cruel and brutal, 197. Sows the seeds of a new war, 207. His conduct in a battle with the English against the Emperor, 207. Killed by lightning, 212. Question of making his son Nabob of Bengal, 281
- Merchants, Hindu, singular method of numeration practised by, in purchases and sales, *i.* 338, note. Ceremonies enjoined them, 358 et seq.
- Messengers, Hindu, rate at which they will travel, *i.* 332
- Metaphysical speculations, belong to a rude as well as a cultivated state of society, *ii.* 52. Instances in proof, 53. Metaphysical ideas of the Hindus, 371
- Metempsychosis, Hindu notion of, *i.* and note, 229
- Mexicans, their chronology, *i.* 108, note. Their worship of a Supreme Being, and names by which they address him, 241, note. Their buildings, *ii.* 4. Excel in sculpture and casting of metals, 26, note. Their paintings, 28, note. Character of their poetry, 45, note. Excellence of their language, 65, and note. Care ascribed to them in the education their youth, 83, and note. Mistaken

- notions of the Spaniards respecting their civilisation, 115, and note
- Michelborne, Sir Edward, his licence to trade to the East Indies, i. 20
- Middleton, Dr. on the fundamental principles of modern philosophy derived from the ancients, quoted, ii. 85
- Middleton, Mr. Nathaniel, placed by Mr. Hastings as private agent with the Nabob of Oude, iii. 400. Part of his correspondence in that capacity suppressed by Mr. Hastings, 412. Returns, and Mr. Bristow sent to supply his place, 414. Present received by him from Munny Begum, 451. Re-appointed to the court of the Nabob, iv. 12. Removed again and re-appointed, 502. Report made by him of the character and conduct of the Nabob, 505. Instructed to plunder the Begums, if the Nabob refuses the office, 518. His quarrel with Mr. Hastings, 524. Accused by Mr. Hastings, of remissness in his duty, 526. Examined as a witness on Mr. Hastings' trial, v. 90
- Mignan, Colonel, one of the commanders at the siege of Seringapatam, vi. 92
- Military order in society ranks high as civilisation is low, i. 133. Rude state of the military art with the Hindus, 145, ii. 146, and note
- Miller, Mr. of Glasgow, on the division of nations into classes, quoted, i. 125, note. On the treatment of servants in primitive times, 136, note. On the condition of women of the American tribes, 315, note. Only writer from whom elucidations of Hindu history can be drawn, ii. 108, note
- Milton on the pretended origin of the English, quoted, i. 167, note. On the superstitious respect of the Indians to vermin, 298, note
- Mitchin, Commandant at Calcutta, accused of quitting it improperly, iii. 116
- Ministers, mode in which the Hindu sovereigns consult with them, i. 145, and note
- Mirepoix, Duke de, superintends a negotiation for peace between the French and English East India Companies, iii. 96
- Mofussul Dewanee Adaulut, civil court in India, how constituted, iii. 421
- Moguls, embassy sent by Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor of, i. 16. Embassy to, by James the First, Emperor of, give permission to the East India Company to trade in Orissa, 45. State of the Mogul empire, ii. 103. Moguls take Peking, 184. Conquer Persia, 185. Invade India, 199, 200. Plunder Deccan, 201. Reduce Carnatic, 209. Found a kingdom in Deccan, 210. Origin of their dynasty, 225. Their learning,
585. English embassy to their Emperor Ferokhsier, iii. 20. Their confederacy against Bengal, 173. Defeat the Governor of Bahar, 181. Defeated by the English near Patna, 185. Form a treaty with the English, 287
- Mohabet, General of the army of Jehangire, his persecutions by the Sultana, and generous conduct under them, ii. 257. Appointed by Shah Jehan commander-in-chief of his forces, 260. His generous proceedings towards the Rajah of Bundelcund, whom he had subdued, *ibid.* Government of Kandesh conferred on him, 261. Having taken Dowlatabad, and laid siege to Telingana, falls sick and dies, 264
- Mohammed Ali, Nabob of Carnatic, or Arcot, joins the army of Nizam Jung, iii. 106. Defeated by the French, flies to Arcot, 75. Offers to resign his pretensions to the nabobship of Carnatic, 77. Supported in his claims by the English, 79. Driven out of Carnatic, and obliged to take shelter beyond the Cavery, 81. Obtains assistance from Mysore, 84. Dispute between the English and French whether he should be acknowledged Nabob of Carnatic, 91. Silently acknowledged such by both parties, 99. Vested with the ensigns of his dignity at Arcot, 105. Pays the chout to the Mahrattas, 161. Account of his two refractory brothers, 181. Terms on which he enjoys the dignity of Nabob, 267. New requisitions on him, by the President and Council, 268. His proceedings against Vellore, Tanjore, and the two Marawars, 269. Jaghire demanded of him by the servants of the Company, 270. His contention with the Rajah of Tanjore respecting the Mound of the Cavery, 273. Carnatic bestowed on him by the Emperor, with the titles of Wallau Jan, and Umlir ul Hind, 317. Appointed by the Madras Presidency Phousadar of Mysore, and accused for accepting it, 329. Commanded to return from the army acting against Hyder, 330. Relations between him and the English, iv. 46. His situation in consequence of ceding the military defence of the country to the English, 47. Manner in which he is preyed upon by the English around him, 49. Difference between the Presidency and him widened by Sir John Lindsay, 53. Forms an alliance with the Mahrattas, 55. Urges the English to make war upon the Raja of Tanjore, 61. Sends his two sons to negotiate with the Rajah, 65. Terms of the treaty, 67. Urges the Company's forces to reduce the two Marawar Polygars, 70. Effects the

INDEX.

Scindia, 290. Prepares for war with the Mahrattas, 298. Gives to General Wellesley plenipotentiary commission for peace or war, 300. His plans for conducting the war, 347. His views with respect to Scindia 359. Concludes a treaty with him, 360. His account of the benefits resulting from the defensive alliances and the war, 367. That account investigated, 369. Seeks peace with Holkar, 370. Resolves to conquer, but give away his dominions, 375. Provides for the Emperor and his family, 382. His new plan of defence against Scindia and Holkar, 395. Succeeded by Marquis Cornwallis, 404. Company's opinion of his administration, 405
 Mortiz Ali, negotiates with the French for the Nabobship of Carnatic, iii. 91. Attempt by the English to subjugate him, unsuccessful, 306. Proceedings of Mahomed Ali against him, 215
 Moscow, ancient magnificence of its Court, ii. 145, note.
 Mostyn, Mr., English resident at Poonah, iii. 424. Appointed one of the Committee to settle the government of Poonah, iv. 28. His death, 29, note.
 Motte, Mr., performs a journey to the diamond mines of Orissa, i. 215. Quoted on the abject state of women in India, 314, note. On the ferocious and cowardly character of the Hindus, ii. 27, note. On the Hindu music, ii. 29.
 Mubarrick, son of Alla, character of his reign, ii. 203.
 Mubarrick, son of Khizer, assassinated after a just and humane reign of fourteen years, ii. 220
 Mubarrick, nephew of Shir, usurps the throne by the assassination of the son of Selim in his mother's arms, ii. 232
 Mudkul, taken by Shahjee, father of Sivajee, ii. 287
 Muftee, office of, iii. 417
 Muir, Colonel, arrives at Gohund, to the relief of Colonel Carnac, iv. 217. Empowered to treat with Scindia, 218. His instructions on that occasion, v. 11
 Mujahid, son of Mahomed, assassinated by his uncle Daood, ii. 245
 Mulhar Rao Holkar, lays the foundation of the sovereignty of the Holkar family, vi. 267, and note.
 Multan, part of, detached from the dominions of the Mogul, and added to those of Nadir Shah, ii. 323. Taken by the Seiks and Mahrattas, 341
 Mulwaggle, fort, taken by Hyder Ali, iii. 345
 Munnoo, Meer, Governor of Multan, purchases the retreat of Ahmed Abdalee from his province, iii. 333. Generosity of Abdalee to him when defeated, *ibid.* At his death, viceroy, under Abdalee, of Multan and Lahore, 336
 Munny Begum, her appointment to the

guardianship of the young Nabob Bengal, iii. 378. Presents made by to Mr. Hastings and Mr. Middleton who she held the office, 453. Removed by Council in opposition to Mr. Hastings, 454. Replaced, iv. 17. Investigation the managers of Mr. Hastings' trial her appointment to the office of Subah of Oude, v. 80. Records concerning her present to Mr. Hastings, excluded as evidence on his trial, 87 et seq.
 Munro, Sir Hector, takes the command of the army at Patna, iii. 246. Subdues mutiny, 247. Defeats the armies of Mogul Emperor, and Suja Dowla, i. Terms on which he concludes a treaty with those powers, 248. Appointed of the Madras Council, and Commander-in-Chief of the forces, iv. 98. Consul by the East India Company, 112. Tanjore, 115. Commands the division of the army against Hyder, and defeats him, 128. His disagreement with General Stuart in a subsequent battle with Hyder, 151. Commands expedition against Negapatam and Dutch settlements, 159
 Munro, Sir Thomas, on the opinion generally entertained in India upon the battle of Assaye, vi. 367.
 Murray, Colonel, advances into the heart of Holkar's dominions in Malwa, and takes his capital, vi. 409
 Musnood, son of Mahmood, makes threeursions into India, ii. 179. Defeated the Turkomans, *ibid.* Deposed by a mutiny in his army, and his brother Mahmood placed on the throne, *ibid.*
 Musnood, son of Feroze, his reign, ii. 18
 Music of the Hindus, totally devoid of excellence, ii. 29. Skill of the Peruvians, 29, note.
 Mutilation, punishment practised by Hindus, i. 176, and note. Banishment substituted by Lord Cornwallis, instead of, v. 423
 Mutiny. See Army.
 Mutseddies, or Brahmen Council, their proceedings against Ragoba, iii. 416 and 417, note.
 Muttra, taken by the Mahomedans, ii. 17
 Mysore and Mysoreans. Mysore described, iii. 85. Mysoreans claim Trichinopoly the English, 88. Attempt to take Trichinopoly by surprise, 88. Attack, while allies of the English, the advanced post and destroy every man, *ibid.* Proceedings of Bussy against Mysore, 101. Further account of Mysore, 317. Proceedings of Hyder Ali against the Rajah of, 322. Hyder undisputed master of the kingdom, 324. First war of the Mysoreans with the English, 3 See Hyder Ali. Proclamation of the Sultan of, in the Isle of France, vi. 51. Si

ion of the country of, to the English, 103. Object of its settlement under the English government, 103. Ostensible bishop of, restored, 111. Partition of, 112. Subsidiary treaty of, 113. Deputy, how the name came to him, sovereign, ii. 334, note. By whom limited, iii. 71.
Shah, his low origin, ii. 319. Assumes title of Thamas Kooler Khan, and afterwards declares himself King of Persia, 320. Having defeated the Afghans, in Hindustan, *ibid.* His horrible slaughter of the inhabitants of Jellalabad, and of Delhi, 322. Provinces added to his dominion by his treaty with the English emperor, 323. Massacred in his bed, 361. Further mention of, *ibid.* 95. Purchased of the Rajah of Tanjore, the Dutch, iv. 81.
Dewan, revenue office, abolished, *ibid.* 2. Substitution in its stead, 413.
Subah, or Nazim, supreme magistrate of the trial of capital offences, *ibid.* 413. Abolishing the office without an adequate substitute, reprehended, 419. Duties of, connected with the household of the Nabob of Bengal, 421.
S, title given to Hindu governors of districts, *ibid.* 371, note.
Sene, Major, killed in the assault on Metchoura, vi. 201.
S, of Malabar, customs of, as to sexual intercourse, i. 320, and note.
S, in Farnese, one of the ministers of Arraia Rao, *ibid.* 420. In the council at Oonah sides with Siccaram Baboo in favour of Ragoba, iv. 25. Overthrows the party of Siccaram, 27.
Suk, prophet of the Sikhs, account of, *ibid.* 92.
Sain Rao, succeeds to the office of Peshwa, *ibid.* 423.
S, restored to the English, by the treaty of Paris, *ibid.* 274.
S, rude, derive peculiar gratification, from pretensions to high antiquity, i. 107. The propensity accounted for, 116, note. All ancient nations trace themselves to a period of rudeness, 119. Publicity of judicial proceedings common to rude nations, 145, note. Cruelty, and the principle of retaliation, features of the laws of a rude people, 176. To make laws which cannot or ought not to be executed, one of the characteristics of a rude people, 192. Grossness of language an ingredient in the manners of a rude nation, 321. Rude nations most addicted to gaming, *ibid.* 23. Rude nations are neglectful of history, 31.
S, engagement between the English and Portuguese, near Surat, i. 35, 44. Between the English and French on the coast of Coromandel, *ibid.* 45. Off Madras,

146. Off Carical, 152. Off Cochin, 171. *ibid.* 172. Off Pondicherry, 114. In Praya Bay 169. Off Negapatam, 176. Off Trincomalee, 179, 181.
Nizam, office of, *ibid.* 427.
Nasir Jung, son of Chera Keslich, in a revolt against his father, is defeated and taken prisoner, *ibid.* 324. Further account of, *ibid.* 70. Favours the English against Chunda Sahib and the French, 91. His character, 97. Loves his army for the pleasures of the barba and the chase, at Arcot, *ibid.* Traitorously shot through the heart, 99.
Nizam, office of, *ibid.* 427.
Neemajee Scindia, Mahratta chief, conspires with Daulat, in the attempt on the life of Humayun, *ibid.* 421.
Negapatam, encirclement of, between the French and English fleets, *ibid.* 177.
Negapatam, taken from the Dutch, *ibid.* 159.
Nellore attacked unsuccessfully by the English, *ibid.* 117.
Nesbit, Colonel, leads a column in the night attack on Tippeco Sahib, v. 371.
Newcastle, Duke of, superintends a negotiation of peace with the French and English East India Companies, *ibid.* 16.
Nicholson, Captain, commands the first expedition sent from England to Bengal, *ibid.* 81.
Nizam, son of Humayoon, sovereign in Deccan, *ibid.* 281.
Nizam Ali, proceedings of, as governor of Berar, *ibid.* 150. Divests himself of Berar, and takes the government of Dowlatabad, 152. Effects the assassination of Hyder Jung, and flies to Poornahpore, 152. Returns at the head of a considerable body of troops, 197. Assumes the Subahdarship of Deccan, having dethroned his brother, 316. His irruption into Carnatic, *ibid.* His treaty with the English, 318. Joins Hyder Ali against the English, *ibid.* His proceedings against the Mahrattas, 323. Disgusted with the war, forms another treaty with the English, 325. Transactions of the Madras presidency with him, respecting Guntoor, *ibid.* 93. These transactions condemned by the Governor-General and Council, 95. Forms an alliance with Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas, 102. Supreme Council send a person to his court to represent them, 115. Proposes to the Regent of Berar to invade and ravage Bengal, 117. The Guntoor Circar demanded of him, v. 223. Lord Cornwallis's treaty with, 218. Relations with, entered into by Sir John Shore, vi. 13. War between him and the Mahrattas, 20. Dismisses the English subsidiary force, 21. Rebellion of his eldest son induces him to request the return of the English battalion, 23. The English jealous of the French troops in his ser-

ferings of the Fakeers, 286, note. On the character of the Gentoos, as a tricking people, 337, note. On the litigious spirit of the Hindus, 330. Describes the Pagoda of Seringham, ii. 3. On the ignorance of the Hindus in the construction of bridges, 11, note. On the causes of the skill of the Indians in spinning and weaving, note. On the little skill of the Hindus in music, 29, note. On the little alteration that has been effected in the government or character of the Hindus by the introduction of strangers among them, 119, note. On the avarice of the Hindus, and the oppressions it occasioned, 137, note. On the rude state of the military art in Hindostan, 146. On the extent of country in which the Mahratta language is spoken, 339, note. Complained of, that he never gives his authorities, iii. 52, note.

Orpheus, his description of the celestial king, i. 236

Ostend, trading Company of, to India, particulars of, iii. 19

Otaheitans, resemble in many respects the Hindus in manners, i. 323. Their ingenuity in handicraft arts, ii. 23, note.

Oude, articles of commerce in, ii. 18, note. Distressed state of, iv. 297. Proceedings of Mr. Hastings in relation to, 302. See Hastings. Its situation as left by Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), satisfactory to the Company, vi. 122. British subjects driven out of, by Lord Mornington, 125

Oude, Sujah ad Dowla, Subahdar or Nabob of, ii. 331. Defeats the Mahrattas, 334. Confederates with the Mogul Prince Aulungeer and others against Bengal, iii. 202. Confederacy dissolved by his treachery, 203. Raised to the office of Vizir, 206. Views with which he assists Meer Causim against the English, 244. Defeated by the English, 245, 247. Terms on which he solicits peace with the English, 248. The proposal of bestowing his dominions on the Emperor, disapproved by the Company, 283. Defeated again by the English, throws himself on their generosity, 285. Restored to all his dominions except Corah and Allahabad, 285. Interview of Lord Clive with him, 298. New treaty with him, 318. His project to profit by the necessities of the Rohillas, 388. Forms a treaty with the Rohillas, 389. Fails to fulfil the terms of the treaty, 391. Solicits and obtains their aid against the Mahrattas, 393. Concerts with the English the destruction of the Rohillas, 395. Obtains of the English, by purchase, the provinces of Corah and Allahabad, 398. His dastardly conduct in the battle

against the Rohillas, 402. Endeavours to evade his treaty with the Emperor, who was to share in the plunder of the Rohillas, 404. His agreement with Fyzoolla Khan, 406. His death, 414

Oude, Asoff ul Dowla, succeeds his father as Nabob of, iii. 428. Treaty of truce with him, 429. His situation, commencing his government, 437. Invested by the Emperor with the title of King, 438. Complaints of oppression, and property burdens laid on him by the English, 439. His complaints treated with neglect, 439. His debts, 299. Mr. Hastings' agreement with him, 302. Consents to strip the Begums, his mother and grandmother, of their treasure, 304. His reluctance to enter on the ungracious work, 312. Declares it to be an act of compulsion, 313, and note. Gives a present of 10 lacs to Mr. Hastings, 318. Obtains permission by treaty to despoil Fyzoolla Khan, 323. Plans of Mr. Hastings against him by means of his minister, 331. The residency at his court proposed to be removed, 332. Visit of Mr. Hastings to his capital, 336. State of his dominions and finances, v. 7. Mr. Hastings' conduct to him and the Begums, one of the articles in his impeachment, 58. Lord Cornwallis's treaty with, 227. Distressed state of, vi. 28. Lord Cornwallis's expostulatory letters to, 24, 25. Additional burdens imposed on him, 27. His death, 28

Oude, Mirza Ali, succeeds his father Asoff ul Dowla, as Nabob of, vi. 35. Suspected of bastardy, *ibid.* Intrigues in his court, 36. Is deposed, 38. Removed to Benares, and a pension allowed him, 39. Preparations made to remove him to Calcutta, 125. Insurrection by him on this account, 126. Taken and carried to Fort William, 127

Oude, Saadut Ali, made Nabob of, by the Governor-General of India, in consequence of the supposed bastardy of Mirza Ali, vi. 39. Terms on which he receives his elevation, *ibid.* Pressed to a military reform by the Governor-General, 117. Major Scott, sent to negotiate the reform, 122. Ordered to govern agreeably to the pleasure of the English, 125. Coercion employed on him, 130. Proposes to abdicate the government, 131. Meaning of his abdication misunderstood, 135. Refuses, unless in favour of his son, 137. Indignation of the Governor-General on this occasion, 139. Force against his military establishment resorted to, 140. His remonstrance, 143; being unanswerable, treated by the Governor-General as an insult, 144. Com-

- plaints of the resident against him, 151.
 Upbraided by the Governor-General, 152.
 The mode for annihilating his army judiciously formed, 163. New reasons for the Company's assuming his government, 151. More than half his territories demanded, 157. Allowed no independent power in the territory not ostensibly taken from him, 166. Arts employed to win his consent to the transfer demanded, 167. Desires to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 170. Mr. Wellesley fails to win him to the territorial cession, 256. Cession of more than half his territory effected, and a Lieutenant-Governor appointed, 173. Defects of his government, 179. These defects not worse than those of Bengal, 180.
- Oupnekhat, sacred book of the Hindus, several translations of, i. 235, note.
- Ox, held sacred in Egypt, i. 296. Killing of, punished with death by the Greeks and Romans, 296.
- Oxenden, Sir George, President and Chief Director of the Company's affairs at Surat, i. 70.
- Pagoda, of Chhillamburam, ii. 2. See Chhillamburam. Of Seringham, 3; of Elephanta, 4, and note; of Ellora and Salsette, *ibid.*, note; of Mail-Cotay, 8; of Congeveram, *ibid.*; of Trivadi, taken by the French, iii. 73.
- Painting, Hindu, Mexican and Chinese, ii. 28, note.
- Palacechery, taken by the English, iv. 197. Taken again by the army under Lord Cornwallis, v. 316.
- Palmer, Major, sent to Oude as the private agent of Mr. Hastings, iv. 377. Sent on pecuniary negotiations to Fyzoolah Khan, 381. His salary while agent at Oude, v. 9, note. Ascribes insidious designs to Scindia, ii. Resident with the Peshwa, vi. 227.
- Panegyric, principle of, active in the human mind, i. 238. Bestowed on objects of worship from the wish to please, *ibid.* From the operation of desire and fear, 239. The Hindu religion a striking example of its excessive growth, 235.
- Paniput, battle of, iii. 337.
- Panopticon penitentiary house, adapted to the moral improvement of Bengal, v. 397.
- Paolino, P., quoted on the propensity of the Eastern nations to lying, i. 325, note. On the character of the Hindus, 330, note. On the skill of the Indians in imitating the European arts, ii. 22. On the despotism of the Indian kings, 92, note.
- Paramount, used inaccurately by Sir William Jones, i. 212, note.
- Paris, treaty of, French possessions in India, how affected by, iii. 269, 287. Power sent to India by the English to look after the execution of the eleventh article of, iv. 45.
- Park, Mungo, on the tenure of land in Africa, quoted, i. 211, note. On the belief of the Africans in one God, and a future state of reward and punishment, 259, note. On the inhabitants of Manlana, who eat their enemies and horses, but never kill the cow, 294, note. On the passion of the African negroes for law suits, 330, note. On the amusement of story-telling among the negroes of Africa, 336, note. Gives a striking instance of Gothic scenery in the country near Sullu, ii. 4, note. Gives an account of the African mode of smelting gold, 22, note. Quoted on the African mode of counting, 31, note.
- Parliament, dissolution of, no abatement of impeachments by, v. 151.
- Parliamentary influence, the baneful source of all our misgovernment, v. 21. Parliamentary responsibility, 80.
- Parthians, foundation of that kingdom, ii. 168, and note.
- Partholanus, giant, descent of the Irish from, i. 107, note.
- Parties, state of, in Parliament, v. 49.
- Pasquier Etienne, on the disposition of a people being known from their laws, and the reverse, quoted, i. 119, note.
- Patans or Afghans. See Afghans.
- Pateeta, account of, and its capture by Major Popham, iv. 243.
- Paterson, on the religious controversies of the Hindus, quoted, i. 254, note. On the Hindu worship of the Lingam, 291, note.
- Patna, battles near, between the Mogul Emperor and the English and Meeran, iii. 207. English attack it, 245; are driven out, 246. Taken by the English, *ibid.* Mutiny at, 248. Suit of a Mohammedan widow and her nephew instituted before the provincial council and supreme court at, iv. 225. Misstatement of this cause by Sir Elijah Impey, the Judge, 257, note.
- Pauchoess Hindu game, i. 334.
- Pilajee and Kantojee, Mahratta chiefs, their contests with the imperial army in Decan, ii. 297.
- Peerambaukam, battle of, iv. 102.
- Pekin, taken by Gingis Khan, ii. 188.
- Pelham, Mr., comments on Mr. Hastings' answer to the first charge against him, v. 91.
- Penal laws, cruel, with a rude people, i. 175. See Courts.
- Penance, idea of, whence derived, i. 280. In what manner and for what offences, practised by the Hindus, 282. Duties imposed on its professors, 283.
- Penitents, Hindu, instances of the torments they inflict on themselves, i. 312.

- note. On the division of nations into classes, 128, note. On the baneful influence on youth, of reading the degrading account of the gods in the Greek poets, 236, note. On the progress of invention in the arts. ii. 2, and note. On the production of the loom among the Greeks, 17, note.
- Playfair, a convert to M. Bailly, on the great progress of the Hindus in astronomy, ii. 69. His account of the manner in which the Brahmens make their astronomical calculations, 97
- Pliny quoted on the weaving of the ancients, ii. 15
- Plomer, Mr. one of Mr. Hastings' counsel, v. 86
- Plough, Hindu, described, ii. 17
- Pocock, Admiral, Madras relieved by the arrival of his fleet, iii. 179
- Poetry, the first literature, ii. 35. Use to which it was applied before the art of writing was known, *ibid.* and note. Use of, by the Hindus, 37, and note. Character of the Hindu poetry, 39, and note W. Poetry of other rude nations, 45, and note. Turgid style of the poetry of rude nations accounted for, 46
- Polaroon, taken possession of by the East India Company, i. 30. Claimed by three separate companies, 60. Changes masters and is at last ceded to the Dutch, 67
- Police, Lord Cornwallis's new scheme of, v. 387
- Polybius, his account of Ecbatana and its palace, ii. 9, note
- Polygamy, Hindu Story respecting, i. 316
- Polygars, meaning of the appellation, iii. 104. Confederate with Maphus Khan against the English, and take Madura, 106
- Pondicherry, French form an establishment at i. 87. Account of, iii. 28. English baffled in an attack upon, 54. Distressed state of, 167. Taken by the English, 185. Disputes between the Presidency of the East India Company and the officers of the King's troops to whom it should belong, *ibid.* Destroyed, 186. Restored to the French, 267. Engagement near, between the French and English Fleets, iv. 98. Restored again to the French, and again retaken by the English, vi. 212
- Pooná, zemindaree of, seized by Sivajee, ii. 297. Supreme Council send an agent to treat with the government of, 317. Treaty with the government of, concluded, 322. Hostilities by the English commenced against, iv. 28. English obliged to retreat and sign a second treaty, 30. Unfruitful negotiations at, vi. 63
- Poorania, Naib of, revolts and is defeated, iii. 206, 207
- Poorundeh, fortress, besieged by the troops of Aurungzeb, ii. 347
- Popham, Captain, defeats the Mahrattas, and takes the fortress of Lahar, vol. iv. 41. Storms and takes the fort of Gwalior, 42. Promoted for this achievement to the rank of Major, 43. Takes Patcota, 283
- Population of India kept down by exactation, i. 222, note
- Porphyry, quoted on the introduction of animal sacrifices among the Egyptians i. 296
- Porter, Endymion, obtains a charter for a new Trading Company to India, i. 47
- Porter, Sir James, ascribes philosophy to the Turks, ii. 54
- Porto Novo, battle of, between the English and Hyder Ali, iv. 167
- Portuguese, first settlers in the East Indies, i. 2. Possessions of, in the East Indies, 28. Fight with the English at sea, near Surat, 35. English treaty of amity with, 46. Dutch treaty with, 52. Cede Bombay to the English, 66. Portuguese at Chittagong engage to assist the Rajah of Aracan in his invasion of Bengal, and betray him to Aurungzeb, ii. 283. Described as buccaneers, 283, note
- Porundeh, taken by Sivajee, 285
- Pousta, a detestable invention of despotic fears, its nature and effects, ii. 283, and note
- Power, sovereign, checks on, ii. 301
- Pratnup Sing, King of Tanjore, assassinates Seid, by whom he had been raised to the throne, iii. 62. Treacherous conduct of the English towards him, *ibid.* and note. See further Tanjore
- Praya Bay, engagement in, between the French and English fleets, iv. 169
- Prayers of a Hindu on marrying, i. 365, note
- Prejudice, English, its operation as to affairs in India, v. 301, 302
- Presents, proceedings on the charge against Mr. Hastings relating to the receipt of, v. 67, 88
- Priam, palace of, ii. 9, note
- Priesthood, greatest authority usurped by, in the lowest state of society, i. 129, and note. Influence of, over superstition, nowhere so great as in India, 131, note. Mendicity of priests an instrument of imposture, 132, note. Ceremonies to be observed by Hindu priests, as to dress and mode of wearing the hair, 362. Degraded state to which the Hindus are reduced by the priesthood, ii. 101. In what way may be instrumental in checking the abuse of sovereign power, 299
- President in India, his power, iii. 13, 17

- Press, freedom of, its advantages to individual character, v. 47. Its advantages to the people, 312
- Priests, found among the rudest tribes, i. 126
- Private Trade. See Trade
- Proclus, accused of borrowing many of his religious notions from Christianity, i. 265
- Property of the servants of the Company, obligations to disclose the amount of, taken away, v. 51
- Prosecutions, investigation of the odium attached to them, v. 167
- Protest of the Lords, against the judges giving their opinions, without stating their reasons, v. 267
- Pullicat, English factory established at, i. 42. Compelled by the Dutch to relinquish it, *ibid*
- Punishments, object of, defined, i. 175. Nature of those practised by the Hindus, 176, and note, 177. Inequality of Hindu punishments, 180, 187. Sanguinary nature of Hindu punishments, ii. 103. Future punishments. See Morality
- Puranas, compilers of, ignorant and devoid of judgment, ii. 87, note
- Purchase and sale, Hindu law of, i. 160. English law of, in what respect defective, 163, note
- Purdhaungur, taken by Sivajee, ii. 297
- Purvez, son of Jehangire, defeated by the Prince of Odipore, ii. 252. Made governor of Kandesh, 258. Visited by Sir Thomas Roe, *ibid*. Unsuccessful in a war with the princes of the Deccan, 259. Dies of apoplexy, 259
- Pusa, temple of, ii. 5, note
- Pycærs, what, iii. 11
- Pythagoras, discoveries of, in science, ii. 97
- Quintus Curtius, on the population of India in the time of Alexander, quoted, ii. 102, note
- Rack, practised by the Dutch at Amboyna, vol. i. 38. Instances of the use of, in England, 38, note
- Radeliffe, Major, commands a column at the taking of Deeg, vi. 419
- Ragoba (Ragonaut Rao), Mahratta Nabob, holds the reins of the Mahratta government during the minority of his nephew, iii. 416. Dispossessed of his power by the intrigues of the Mutseeds, 418. By the death of Narrain Rao, who is murdered, acknowledged Peshwa, 420. Further hostile measures of the Mutseeds to him, 421. Flies to Guzerat, 421. Treaty with him by the Bombay Presidency, 427. Adverse proceedings of the Bengal Presidency, 430.
- Retires to Surat with only two hundred attendants, 436. Treaty of the Bombay Presidency with him approved by the Directors, *ibid*. Proceedings of the Government of Poona and the English respecting him, iv. 23. Given up to Scindia, the Mahratta chief, 30. Bombay council determined to support him, 31
- Ragoojee, Mahratta chief, invades Orissa, iii. 99
- Ragonaut Rao, Mahratta chief, ii. 326
- Rajapore, taken by Sivajee, ii. 297
- Rajpoots, their wretched pusillanimity, ii. 167, note. War of Aurungzeb against, 289
- Raleigh, Sir Walter, his account of the Dutch fisheries, i. 77
- Ram Churn, ruin of, attempted by Nuncomar, iii. 347
- Rama, brother of Sambajee, his obstinate defence of the fort of Gingee, ii. 297. Terms on which his widow proposes to terminate the predatory incursions of the Mahrattas into Deccan, 371
- Raundee, one of the Rajahs of Deccan, defeated by Alla, nephew of Feroze, ii. 179
- Ramnarain, Deputy Governor of Behar, iii. 127, 194. Confederates to raise a brother of Suraja Dowla to the government of Bengal, 197. Critical situation of as governor of Patna, 201. Defeated near Patna, 208. Designs of Meer Causim against him, 221. These designs favoured by Mr. Vansittart, and discountenanced by Major Carnac and Colonel Coote, 222, 223. Imprisoned and plundered, 223. Put to death, 247
- Ramramsing, Governor of Midnapore, account of, iii. 194
- Ranee of Burdwan, proceedings of the Supreme Council respecting, iii. 436
- Ranee of Bulwant Sing, desire of Mr. Hastings to have her despoiled, iv. 284. Outrage committed on her, and the princesses of her house, 321
- Ravacottah, taken by the English under Major Gowdie, v. 273
- Raymond, Captain, unfortunate expedition of, to India, i. 15
- Raynier, Admiral, reduces the Dutch settlements in India, vi. 49
- Rayree or Rājegur, fortress, taken by Sivajee, ii. 237. Taken by Aurungzeb, with the wives and infant son of Sambajee, 271
- Rāz, Rajah of Vizanagaram, his character, iv. 102. Arbitrary treatment of, by Governor Rumbold, 103. Bribes given by Sitteram to Sir Thomas Rumbold, 105
- Read, Colonel, has an active command in the last war against Tippu Saib, vi. 57. Takes Caucryporam, 100

- Reading, the power of, little conducive to improvement in a country without good books, and covered with poverty and wretchedness, iii. 397
- Redhead, Mr., private Secretary to Sir Thomas Rumbold, bribe received by him from Sitteram Râz, iv. 105. Bribe from Ameer ul Omrah, 106
- Regiomontanus, great extent of his mathematical knowledge, ii. 103
- Religion of the Hindus, account of, i. 228. Of the Persians and other nations, 263, note. How a check on the abuse of sovereign power, ii. 371. On the subject of Religion, see further, Ideas, and Morality.
- Rennel, Major, quoted on Alexander's Invasion of India, i. 117, note. On the state of the fine arts with the Hindus, ii. 42, note. On the ancient state of Hindustan, 128. On the portion of India included in the empire of Darius Hystaspes, 165, and note.
- Retaliation, law of, with the Hindus, and other nations, i. 177
- Revenue. See East India Company. New plan for the collection of, in India, iv. 2. Hindu mode of collecting, v. 367. Mogul mode of collecting, 367
- Rewards and punishments, future, little effect of, on the Hindus, i. 302, note.
- Reynier, General, on the moral precepts of the Mussulmans of modern Egypt, quoted, i. 292, note.
- Rhandaterrah, assigned to the Company by the Raja of Cherik, as security of a large standing debt, v. 229
- Rice, the principal food of the Hindus, i. 331
- Richardson, Captain, leads the storming party at the capture of Baroach, vi. 377
- Richardson, Mr., quoted on the penances of the Fakeers, i. 286, note. On the authenticity of Duperron's fragments of the Zendavesta, 298, note. His account of the respect paid to women by the Arabians, Persians, and Tartars, disputed, 314, note.
- Ritual of the Hindus, i. 350
- Roads, state of the Chinese, ii. 153
- Robberies, increase of, in India, to what attributable, v. 518
- Roberts, Major, leads the storming party at Pateeta, iv. 283
- Robertson, Dr., quoted on the little regard due to the early annals of nations, i. 110, note. On the Hindu ignorance of Alexander's invasion of India, 117, note. On the abuse of subordination among barbarous tribes, 136, note. Falsely characterises the Hindu law as arranged in natural and luminous order, 160, note. Quoted on Mexican taxation, 227, note. On the acknowledgment of a Supreme Power by the American tribes, 237. On the conduct with the American tribes of the burning herself on the funeral of the husband, 290, note. Mistake considering the litigious subtilties of the Hindus as a sign of high civilisation, 330, note. On the pagoda of Chitbrum, ii. 2. On the skill of the Indians in the manual arts, 20, note. On the paintings of the Mexicans, 27, note. On the mistaken notions of the Spaniards respecting the civilisation of the Mexicans, 113, note. On the division of India into kingdoms and states at the time of Alexander, 123, note.
- Rockets, army of Ahmed Abdalee thrown into confusion by the explosion of magazine of, ii. 313
- Rockingham, Marquis, succeeds Lord North as prime minister, iv. 375
- Roe, Sir Thomas, his embassy to Mogul court, i. 22, ii. 253. Quoted on the Mogul buildings, ii. 1
- Rohillas, name of, whence derived, 253, note. Their state, by whom founded, 324. Attacked by the Marhattas and the Mogul, iii. 384. Questions and conduct of their chief, 384. Their perilous situation, from the Subahdar of Oude and the Mahrattas, 385. Former treaty with the Subahdar, 388. The conditions of which he fails to fulfil, 387. The Mahrattas and the Subahdar, each bidding for their alliance, they join the Subahdar and the English, 389. Prettexts by which the measure was vindicated, 389. Its accomplishment, 393. Features of cruelty attending it, 394, note. This war one of the charges against Mr. Hastings of his impeachment, v. 42. Voted by the House of Commons not worthy of impeachment, 42
- Ross, Lieutenant-Colonel, when repulsed by the Directors, the censured, struck out by the Board of Control, v. 61
- Row, Balagee, Mahratta General, account of, iii. 87; his exactions in Mysore, 100
- Row, Govind, brother of Futty Sing, iv. 37
- Row, Madhoo, see Madhoo.
- Rao Narrain, assassinated, iii. 375, note, 375
- Roy-adaulut, see Nazim, office of.
- Roy-royan, nature of the office of, iii. 449
- Ruffeh al Dirjant, grandson of Aurungzeb, raised to the throne on the deposition of Feroksere, ii. 313. Succeeded by his brother, Ruffeh al Dowla, 314
- Rumbold, Sir Thomas, succeeds Lord Pigot as Governor of Madras, iv. 98. Suspends the Committee of Circuit, and summons the Zemindars to Madras, 102. His corrupt and mercenary

- proceedings in the business of the Zemindars, 106. His conduct strongly condemned by the Court of Directors, 107. Dismissed from the Company's service, with four members of the Madras council, 112. Parliamentary proceedings against him, 376
- Ranjit Sing, see Bhurtpore.
- Russell, Mr., appointed Resident at Tanjore, iv. 92. One of the Committee of Circuit, to explore the Circars, 93
- Russia, attempts of, to obtain a passage to India, through the Straits of Waygatz, i. 4.
- Russians, their deportment blended with a suavity of address, not warranted by their appearance, i. 257, note. Their expertness in the use of their rude tools, ii. 18
- Ryley, Mr., his examination in the House of Commons relative to the Zemindars of Oude, vi. 201
- Ryots, husbandmen in India, so denominated, i. 220. Question of the interest in the soil, which belonged to them, examined, 222. Resort to robbery for a subsistence when driven to despair, 327, note. Oppression of, by Devi Sing, agent of Mr. Hastings, v. 71. Their possessions hereditary, 279. Oppressions exercised upon them by the Zemindars, 280. Handed over to the Zemindars by the Anglo-Indian government, 280. Effects of the financial system of Lord Cornwallis on them, 376. Relation between the Zemindars and them, 379
- Sahoo Raja, account of, iii. 379
- Sahjee, Tanjorine prince, applies to the English to aid his restoration to the throne, iii. 61. Flies from the English, who, pretending to assist him, side with his rival, 65
- Sailors, importance of training them for land operations, iii. 39, note.
- St. David, fort, built, i. 88. Attacked by the French, iii. 54. Taken by the French, 175
- St. George, fort, first erected into a presidency, i. 56, see further Madras.
- St. Helena, granted to the East India Company by royal charter, i. 76
- St. John, Mr., opens the article of impeachment in the case of Mr. Hastings, relative to the creating of influence, v. 150
- St. Thomas, town near Madras, account of, iii. 63
- Sair, see Sayer.
- Salabut Jung, son of Nizam al Mulk, appointed to the sovereignty of Deccan, on the death of Mirzapha Jung, iii. 79. His wars in concert with Bussy, 95. His quarrel with Bussy, and subsequent reconciliation, 101. Appoints his two brothers to important situations, contrary to the advice of Bussy, 167. Mutiny in his army, *ibid.* His grief, on Bussy's quitting him, 179. Concludes a treaty with the English, 201. Confirmed, as Subahdar of Deccan, by the treaty of Paris, 316. His death mentioned, v. 187
- Salsette, seized by the English, iii. 427. Ceded to them, with other places, by Ragoba, 427. Ceded to them by the go-

- Sattimungul, taken by the English, v. 271
- Satyavrata, Noah of the Hindus, fable, of, i. 109
- Saunders, Mr., Madras President, unwisely advises an attack on Gingee, which fails, iii. 89. Enters into a negotiation for peace with Dupleix, 95. Departs for Europe, 101
- Savanoor, Nabob of, reduced to dependence by Hyder Ali, iii. 327
- Saul tree, how used by the Indians, as the ordeal of witchcraft, i. 342
- Sayer duties, abolished, v. 493, vi. 195
- Scaids, character of their poetry, ii. 48, note.
- Scandinavians, had a notion of some mysterious power superior to their gods, i. 274, note. Counted their unities to twelve, ii. 31, note. Qualities of which their young warriors boasted, to gain the good opinions of their mistresses, 32, note. Their poetry, 46, 47, and note.
- Scarlet, dyed best by the Chinese, ii. 17, note.
- Schools of the Hindus, ii. 87. Of other Eastern nations, 88. Of the Americans of Mexico and Peru, 89, note.
- Scindia, Dowlut Row, English alliance with him attempted, vi. 270. The idea applauded and abandoned, 273. Attempt to make him substitute for his own, a British military force, 275. Defeated by Holkar, 277. Invited to participate in the treaty of Bassein, 286. Arrives in the vicinity of Poorhanpore, 288. Further attempts to make him conclude a treaty similar to that of the Peshwa, *ibid.* Pressed for a declaration of his intentions in regard to the treaty of Bassein, 295. His declining a direct answer considered as a warlike menace, 297. Joins with the Raja of Berar in hostilities, 301. Declares with the Raja his dissatisfaction with the treaty, 302. Commanded to quit their threatening position, 303. Evade compliance, 305. Various objects of the war against him, 325. Account of his French forces, 339. By the imprisonment of the Emperor Shah Alam, becomes sovereign of India, 345. Deserted by the French commander, 352. His French force totally destroyed, 351. His territory in the Doab taken, *ibid.* He and the Raja separate their forces, 354. Makes an overture of peace, 369. Views of Lord Mornington regarding him, 377. Treaty with him concluded, 380. Enters into the defensive alliance, 381. League with Holkar, 391. Disputes of the British with him, 403. Opportunity overlooked by him of performing a brilliant exploit, 430. Complaints of the British against him, 431. Prospects of a war with him, 432. Account of his forces, 433. Joined by Holkar, 433. Evades the return of the British Resident, *ibid.* Professes amicable intentions, 440. Lord Cornwallis resolves on peace with him, 448. Treaty concluded, 457
- Scindia, Madagee, Mahratta chief, his possessions, iii. 491. Joins the party of the Mutseddies against Ragoba, 405. Joins the party at Nana Furnavese, iv. 24. Baroach given up, to him, and Ragoba placed in his hands, 33. Dissension between him and Nana, 41. Negotiation between him and the English broken off, and war resolved on, *ibid.* Amount of his forces, 42. His camp surprised by General Goddard, and his army put to flight, 43. Alarm given to him by the capture of the fortress of Gwalior, 46. His camp surprised by Colonel Camac, and his army dispersed, 224. Treaty of peace concluded with him, 225. His proceedings an object of jealousy to the English, v. 11. Peace with him an aim of Mr. Hastings' government, *ibid.* Gets possession of the Mogul and his dominions, 16. Directs his advantages against the Company, 17. His designs against the Mogul's eldest son, *ibid.* Price asked by him for an alliance against Tippoo Saib, 302. His death and its effects, vi. 27
- Scott, Major, agent to Mr. Hastings, v. 23. Calls on Mr. Burke to produce his accusations against Mr. Hastings, 35. Reference to his speech relating to Mr. Francis, *ibid.*, note. Presents a petition to the House of Commons from Mr. Hastings, complaining of Mr. Burke's representations, 87. Rebuked by the Commons, for reviling the managers, 145. Sent to negotiate the military reform at Oude, vi. 133. His conduct in the business, 139, et seq.
- Scott, Mr. J., on the original country of the Mahrattas, quoted, ii. 273, note. On the depraved character of the inhabitants of Hindustan, 301
- Seraffon, Mr., appointed one of the supervisors of India, iii. 333. Lost in his passage out, 340
- Scriptures, teaching and study of, one of the Hindu sacraments, i. 353
- Sculpture of the Hindus and Mexicans, i. and note; ii. 20, and note.
- Scythians, their conquests in Asia, ii. 171. Invade Persia, 182
- Secunder, his reign, ii. 217
- Seer, Mutakhareem, on the love of learning in India in the time of Aliverdi, quoted, ii. 92, note. On the death of Ghazee ad Dien Khan, iii. 101, note. Translator of, extenuates the crime of the Blackhole tragedy, and accuses the English of a greater atrocity, 120, note.
- Seets or Seets, bankers of Moorsheadabad, put to death by Meer Casm, iii. 213

- Selks, country of, well cultivated, ii. 27, note. Their origin and history, 301, 307
- Selenus, his conquests in India, ii. 175
- Self-convicting evidence, its principle examined, v. 97
- Self-delusion, English in India, not well guarded against it, vi. 257
- Selim, son of Shir, his reign, ii. 232
- Selim, son of Akbar, see Mohammed Jehanfir.
- Seljukides, dynasty of, ii. 182
- Sepoys, Indian soldiers, account of, iii. 16
- Sera, nabobship of, conferred on Hyder Ali, iii. 303
- Sereffraz Khan, grandson of Jaffier, account of, iii. 97, 98
- Serfojee, Rajah of Tanjore, resigns the powers of government to the English, vi. 217
- Serhind, plundered by Ahmed Abdalee, ii. 371
- Seringapatam, bridge at, described, ii. 7. Preparations for the siege of, v. 271. Lord Cornwallis's march upon, 312. Tippoo Sahib defeated under its walls, 315. Besieged, 327. General Harris's march upon, vi. 86. Taken by assault, 91
- Seringham, island, its pagoda described, ii. 3. Characterised as constituting an era in the history of India, iii. 72.
- Servants, Calmuck, Negro and Hindu, characterised, ii. 165, 166, note.
- Servants of the East India Company, misbehaviour of, in the earlier period of the Company's concerns, i. 46. Refractory conduct of, at Fort St. George, 69. New regulations for the government of, 79. See further, East India Company.
- Seton, Mr., his account of the Nabob of, Surat, vi. 209
- Sivajee, founder of the Mahratta power, in an attack upon Surat repulsed by the English factory, i. 67. Commencement of his fortunes, ii. 286. His exploits against Aurungzeb, 288. Submits to the Emperor, but revolts, from being treated with contumely, 289. Plunders Surat and recovers his former possessions, *ibid.* Artfully obtains a truce, *ibid.* Enters the territory of Golconda, with 40,000 horse, and takes the fortress of Gingee, Vellore, and other places, 290. Extent of his dominions at his death, 293
- Severndroog, situation of, iii. 119. Taken by Clive, 120. Further account of, v. 287. Taken by Colonel Stuart, after immense labour, 403
- Sex, female, greatest admirers of the military character, and most devoted to superstition and priests, i. 134
- Shah Jehan, see Khurram.
- Shah Namu, Persian poem, account of, ii. 51
- Shahjee, father of Sivajee, account of, and his exploits, ii. 927 and note.
- Shahsta Khan, sent by Aurungzeb to command in Deccan, ii. 278. Wounded in his bed at Poonah by banditti, and his son killed, *ibid.*
- Shaw, quoted on the dexterity of Hindu merchants in calculation, i. 334 note.
- Shazada, son of Aulungeer the Second, invades Bengal, *ibid.* 201. Repulsed, 203. On the assassination of his father, assumes the state and title of Emperor, 205. Defeats the Governor of Bahar near Patna, *ibid.* Is defeated in turn by Meeran and the English, 206. Flies to Bahar, 207. Defeated by the English at Gyah Maunpore, 218. Visited by Major Carnae, who negotiates a peace with him, 220. War being renewed, is again defeated, and a second treaty made, 245, 246. Further arrangements of the English with, 297. Interview of Lord Clive with, 302. Confirms to the English the government of the Northern Circars, 327. Conducted by Mahratta chiefs to Delhi, 334. In concert with the Mahrattas, attacks the country of Zabita Khan, 385. Reduced to subject dependence on the Mahrattas, 393. Revenue due to him refused by the English, 401. Defeated by Zabita Khan, and obliged to remit arrears of tribute, 425. Conduct of Mr. Hastings respecting him, v. 11. Submits himself to the power of Scindia, 13, vi. 327. Cruelty of his treatment by Gholam Khadur, *ibid.* Places himself under the protection of the English on their taking Delhi, 370. Provision made for him and his family, 373
- Shelburne, Lord, appointed prime minister, iv. 371
- Sherbrooke, Col. one of the commanders at the siege of Seringapatam, vi. 92
- Shere Khan, his contests with and perfidy to Hamaon, ii. 271. His ancestry, *ibid.* Killed by an explosion of gunpowder, 272. His various beneficial establishments, *ibid.*
- Sheridan, Mr., his speech on the Ondo charge against Mr. Hastings, considered as one of the brightest efforts of English eloquence, v. 60. Sums up the evidence on this charge, 173
- Shipping, Committee of, at the India House, iii. 6
- Shirley, Sir R., Ambassador to Persia, claims compensation for services to East India Company, i. 41
- Shitabroy, Raja, Naib Duan of Patna, his distinguished services at the siege of Patna, iii. 211. His gallantry, 212, note; arrested and sent to Calcutta, iii. 380. Acquitted after a confinement of two years, 381. Dies of a broken heart, 382
- Shore, Sir J. (Lord Teignmouth), his account of the practice of *dharna*,

- i. 171, note. His ideas of the impracticability by the Company's servants of reform in the government of India, v. 303. In favour of the Ryots, against the Zemindars, 310. His description of the Company's servants lamentably true, 393. Succeeds Lord Cornwallis as Governor-General, vi. 14. Directs his attention to Nizam Ali and the Mahrattas, 15. Urges the Nabob of Oude to arrange the internal administration of his country, 32. His proceedings at Lucknow, 35. His conduct respecting the bastardy, and consequent deposition, of Mirza Ali, Nabob of Oude, 37. His conduct approved and commended by the powers at home, 39. Resigns and sails for England, 49.
- Shuhab ad Din, son of Ghazee ad Din, account of, ii. 279
- Shuja-ad-dowla. See Oude.
- Shuja, son of Shah Jehan, and Subahdar of Bengal, his character, ii. 269. His conduct on the illness of his father, 270. Defeated by his brother Aurungzeb, 275. Seeking refuge with the Raja of Arracan, is betrayed and imprisoned, 277. A Patan chief, from personal resemblance to him, proclaimed King of India, 287
- Shums, sovereign in Deccan, ii. 245
- Siddee, meaning of the appellation, ii. 286
- Siddee Jore, assassinated for losing Dunda Rajapore, ii. 293. His assassination avenged by his son, who surrenders Gingerah and the fleet of Beejapore to Aurungzeb, *ibid.*
- Simoga, taken by the Bhow, in alliance with the English, v. 287
- Sinners, enumeration of, from the Institutes of Menn, who suffer some morbid change in their bodies, i. 281
- Sirballund Khan, invited to court by Ferokhere, to act against the Seyd brothers, ii. 293
- Sirhind, taken from the Seiks, by Shah Aulum, ii. 290. Plundered by Ahmed Abdalee, 335.
- Siva, Hindu god, i. 241. Indistinct nature of his functions, i. 242
- Skinner, Sir Thomas, proceedings respecting in parliament for infringing the East India Company's monopoly, i. 71
- Smith, Colonel, appointed one of the Select Committee at Calcutta, iii. 302. His retreat to Trinomalee after being defeated by Hyder, 323. Re-called, 326. Restored, 330
- Smith, General, employed in expelling Amcer Khan from the Company's territory, vi. 427, and note.
- Smith, Dr. Adam, on the causes which render astronomy the first science cultivated by a rude people, quoted, ii. 71, note. On the province of philosophy to connect the apparently disjointed objects of nature, 73, note. On the progress of the Egyptians in science, 163
- Smith, Mr., deprived of his seat in the Madras Council, iv. 112
- Society. See Human Nature.
- Soffarides, account of, ii. 171
- Soldier, Hindu, ceremonies to be observed by, i. 362
- Soliman, son of Dara, defeats his uncle Suja, ii. 271. Flies from Aurungzeb, the Raja of Serinagur, 274. Betrays the Raja, and imprisoned by Aurungzeb, 283. Desires to be beheaded, fearing a pousta, 300, note.
- Sonnerat, his description of the state of women in India, i. 313, note 2. On the architecture of the Hindus, quoted, 7. His description of a Hindu loom, note. Describes the mode in which an Indian carpenter performs his work, note. Quoted on the state of the arts with the Hindus, 24, note. On laws and religion of the Hindus encouraging a spirit of restlessness and war, 128, note.
- Sooffees, sect among the Afghans, account of, ii. 68, note.
- Soonda, taken by Hyder Ali, iii. 289
- Soorajee' Mul, the Gaat Rajah, ii. 289. Forms a scheme for the ruin of Ghasee Dien, 279
- Souri, a Gaurian, his revolt against Byrree the Ghiznian Sultan, ii. 191
- Sovereign of the world. See Vicramaditya.
- Speke, Mr., chosen Vice-President of the Council, and Deputy Governor of Fort William, vi. 177
- Spencer, Mr., succeeds Vansittart as President of Bengal, iii. 254
- Spice trade, attempted by the East India Company, i. 25
- Spies, crimes in India not remedied by the system of, v. 403
- Spinning, skill of the Hindus and Africans, ii. 14, note.
- Spirits, account of the Hindu sacrament of, i. 357
- Straddhas, monthly ceremonies of the Hindus, account of, i. 366
- Stavrinus, on the apathy of the Hindus to offices of humanity, quoted, i. 326. Their expertness in the use of their musical tools, ii. 22, note.
- Stephenson, Colonel, takes Jalnapoor, 379. Joins the army of General Wellesley, 382. Takes Boorhanpoor and Meerseerghur, 382. Commands a division in the siege and capture of Gawilghur, 394
- Stewart, Mr. Charles, on the character of Shaista Khan, quoted, i. 86, note. On the Kings of Behar being lords-paramount of India, which he refutes, ii. 186, note.

- Stinkards, name given to an order in society, among the Natchez, i. 136, note.
- Story-telling, Hindu amusement, i. 336, note. Amusement with the negroes of Africa, *ibid.*, note.
- Strachey, Edward, one of the Moorshedabad Judges, his excellent remarks on Indian Jurisprudence, v. 415, note.
- Strachey, Mr., Secretary to Lord Clive, *ibid.* 273
- Strachey, Sir H., on the tyranny of the Mahratta power, quoted, *ibid.* 107, note. On the expense Ryots are subject to in prosecuting their suits, v. 372, note. Mentions circumstances which obstruct the conviction of delinquents in Indian administration of Justice, 395. On the practice of perjury in India, 410. On the difficulty of forming a plan of police in India, v. 416
- Stuart, Colonel, attacks and takes Dindigul, v. 227. Commands at the siege of Severndroog, and Ootradroog, 286, 287. Heads one of the columns at the siege of Seringapatam, under Lord Cornwallis, 292, 293. Commands the Bombay army, vi. 37. Repulses Tippoo Saib, 89. Arrives before Seringapatam, 92.
- Stuart, General, claims the military station at Tanjore, iv. 92. Disputes in the council of Madras respecting the question of his being nominated to the court of the Rajah of Tanjore, 92. His concern in the arrest of Lord Pigot, 95. Succeeds Sir Eyre Coote in the command of the Madras army, 182. Refuses to obey the orders of the Madras president, 185. Defeated before Cuddalore, 186. Put under arrest and sent to England, 195
- Student, one of the periods into which life is distributed by the Hindus, account of, i. 304. Frivolous ceremonies, his main business, *ibid.*, and note. Dress prescribed for, 362
- Subactagi, account of, *ibid.* 172
- Subahdar, meaning of, *ibid.* 271, *ibid.* 61
- Subahs, number into which the Mogul Empire was divided on the death of Akbar, *ibid.* 219
- Succession, right of, in children, suggested in a very early period of society, i. 169. Hindu laws respecting, *ibid.*
- Sudder Dewanee Adaulut, Court of Appeal in India, how constituted, *ibid.* 412. Sir Elijah Impey appointed Judge of, with a salary, iv. 271. Opinion of the English lawyers upon his appointment, *ibid.* Reflections of the Select Committee of the House of Commons upon it, *ibid.* Regulations introduced into it, 272. Check proposed respecting the proceedings in, v. 375, note.
- Sudras, Hindu servants or slaves, degraded state of, i. 135, and note.
- Suffier, Ali, Nabob of Carnatic, assassinated, *ibid.* 67
- Suffier Jung, made Vizir to Ahmed Shah, *ibid.* 327. His contest with the Rohillas, 328. Revolts, 329. Deprived of his Vizirat, 330. Dies, 331
- Suffrein, Admiral, sails with a fleet for India, iv. 167. Defeated by the English in Praya Bay, 169. His engagement with the English fleet off Ceylon, 170. Further engagement off Negapatam, 177. His character, *ibid.* Takes Trincomalee, 178. In a naval engagement, after taking Trincomalee, breaks six of his captains for misconduct, 179. Follows the English fleet from Trincomalee, and another engagement takes place, 193
- Sufah Khan, account of, *ibid.* 97, 98
- Sullivan, Mr. appointed agent to the Nabob of Carnatic, iv. 160. Appointed minister to the court of the Nabob, 161. Plans the expedition into Colimbetore, 190. His contract for opium, v. 137.
- Sully, cited on the difference between the neat produce of taxes, and the amount taken from the people, i. 227
- Sumatra, first trade to, i. 30
- Sumner, Mr. arrives in India with Clive, as Member of the Select Committee at Calcutta, *ibid.* 274. His concern in private trade, 289
- Sunroo, German officer in the service of Meer Can-um, *ibid.* 241. His assassination offered by Saja Dowla to the English, 244. Abandons Saja Dowla, and seeks service with the Jaats, 246
- Sun, reserve of the modern Brahmens respecting the title of Deva given to it, i. 264, note. Heat, light, and flame of the sun shadowed forth by the three principal gods of the Hindus, 269. Hindu prayer to the sun, 271. Sun worshipped by other nations, *ibid.*, note. Temple erected to the sun, at the expense of the entire revenues of Orissa for twelve years, *ibid.* 2, note.
- Sungapore, taken by Sirajee, *ibid.* 276
- Supervisors, board of, sent to India, *ibid.* 371. Lost in their passage, 372. Further appointment of, 417
- Supreme Council in India, first appointment of, and of whom composed, *ibid.* 370. Disagreement between, at the first meeting, 430. Two parties in, 431. Announce their powers to the different provinces, and require from each a statement of its situation, 440. Object to a treaty made by the Bombay Council with Ragoba, 446. Treat with the Poonah government, by a negotiator of their own, 447. Forbid the Bombay Council to receive Ragoba within the limits of their government, 448. Their dissensions respecting the widow of Burdwan and her son, 449; respecting Nuncomar, 453. Their acrimonious de-

- pares embassy to France, 78. War commenced, *ibid.* Makes fresh overtures, 79. Amount of the army sent against him, *ibid.* Marches against the Bombay army, 80. Compelled by General Stuart to retreat, 81. Defeated in the action of Malvilly, 85. Sends another overture, 88. Draught of a preliminary treaty transmitted to him, 90. Particulars of the siege in which he is killed, 94, et seq. Generous reception of his sons by Major Baird, who had been cruelly treated by him, 97. His dead body found, 98. Retrospect of the views by which he was guided, 99. His character, 101. Superior state of his country compared with the Carnatic and Onde, 102. His mind strongly tinctured with religion, 103. Papers relative to his connexion with the French found in his palace after his death, 104. His poverty, 106. Settlement of his family, 110.
- Togluk, his speech on the throne of Delhi being offered him, ii, 206. After a short reign, killed by the falling of the roof of a house, 207.
- Togluk, grandson of Feroze, assassinated, after a short reign of five months, ii, 213.
- Togrul Beg, account of, ii, 179.
- Tools of the Hindus and other rude nations, ii, 19.
- Tooth of Mahomet the Third, buried with solemn pomp, and a tomb erected over it, ii, 201.
- Topasses, Indo-Portuguese so denominated, iii, 17.
- Torments, self-inflicted, that the Divine Being is delighted with them in his worshippers accounted for, i, 281, note. Period in human society in which such worship suggests itself, 283, note. Torture. See rack.
- Towerson, Captain, executed by the Dutch at Amboyna, i, 36.
- Trade begun with Russia by Chancellour, i, 5. Committees of, their duties, 4-7. Opened with Persia by the East Indies, 13, 28. Private trade injurious to the East India Company, 46. For account of private trade by the Company's servants, see East India Company and Servants. Amount of tonnage for private trade allowed by the bill for the renewal of the Company's charter, vi, 6.
- Travancore, king of, mode of atoning for his sins recommended by the priests, ii, 103. Territory of the Rajah of, v, 221. His alliance with the English, 222. His disputes with Tippoo Saib, *ibid.* Assisted by the English, 223. Buys forts on his boundaries of the Dutch, 225. Lawfulness of the purchase questioned, *ibid.* Demands of Tippoo on him, 223.
- Treasury, Company's Committee of, his occupations, iii, 5.
- Trichinopoly, account of, iii, 71, 82. French attempt upon, baffled, 86. Claimed by the Mysorians, who had assisted in defending it, 87. Is distressed for provisions, and becomes the seat of war, 91, 92. Second attempt of the French upon, baffled, 107. English at, alarmed at the operations of Lally, 109.
- Trincomalee, taken by the English from the Dutch, iv, 159. Taken by the French, 252. Naval battle near, 166.
- Trinomalee, taken by the French, iii, 167. Retaken by the English, 180. Country round it, desolated by Hyder Ali, 279.
- Tripassore, taken from Hyder by the English, iv, 167.
- Triptolemus, laws of, i, 298, note.
- Trivatore, fort, taken by the French, iii, 129.
- Tronjolly, M., Commander of the French fleet in India, his engagement with the English off Pondicherry, iv, 114.
- Turkey, or Levant, Company, expedition of, to the East Indies, i, 12.
- Turks, character of, i, 312, note. Philosophical acquirements ascribed to, ii, 51. Rise and progress of, 137.
- Turner, Mr., his account of the Anglo-Saxon punishments, i, 176, note. His account of Boorian and its Rajah, ii, 156.
- Tydore, hostilities to the English at, charged against the Dutch, i, 31.
- Tythings of the Anglo-Saxons, resemblance of, to the divisions observed by the Incas, i, 143, note.
- Umad al Mulk. See Ghazee ad Dien.
- Umer Sovereign in Deccan, wisdom of his government, ii. Account of his successors, *ibid.* 261.
- Ummir ul Hind, title bestowed on Mohammed Ali, iii, 369.
- Universe, account, from the Bhagvat-Geeta, of the display of the Divine nature in the form of, i, 267, note.
- Upton, Colonel, sent to treat with the Poonah government, iii, 432. His instructions, 433. His conduct in the negotiation, 434. Effects a compromise of difficulties, 439. Concludes a treaty, 440. Accuses the Bombay presidency, and answers for the pacific designs of the Mahrattas, iv, 21.
- Usbecks, invade Transoxiana, ii, 225. Invade the eastern provinces of Persia, 239. Penetrate to Ghisni, but compelled to retreat, 256. Attack Kabul, and are driven out of the province, 260. Beaten again in an attack upon Kabul, and their own territories invaded, 266. Subdued by Aurunzeb, but the sovereign reinstated, 267.
- Utility, grand test of civilisation, ii, 150.
- Vach, Hindu goddess, account of, i, 260, note.

- Vaishnava. See Satyavrata.
- Valdore, taken from the French by the English, iii. 174
- Vandeleur, killed in the battle of Laswarree, vi. 360
- Vansittart, Mr., called from Madras to take the government of Bengal, iii. 214. State of affairs on his accepting the office, *ibid.* Proceeds to Moorsheadabad to persuade Meer Jaffer to consent to his own dethronement, 215. His measures respecting Jaffer opposed by several members of his council, 216. Recalls Sir Eyre Coote and Major Carnac from Patna, 223. His proceedings against Ramnair, the fatal error of his administration, 224. Attempts in vain to mitigate the evils resulting from the private trade of the Company's servants, 231. His visit to Meer Causim, on the subject of this trade, 233. Further opposition to his measures in the council, 235. Returns to Europe, 253. Appointed one of the Board of Supervisors for India, 238. Lost in his passage out, 310
- Vasco de Gama, sails round the Cape of Good Hope, i. 2
- Veda, or study of the Scriptures, one of the sacraments of the Hindus, account of, i. 353
- Vedas, or four sacred books of the Hindus, i. 125, and moral tendency of, 266, note. Resemblance of to the Zendavesta, 208, note. Characterised as containing nothing important or rational, *ibid.*
- Vedanti doctrine, account of, ii. 56
- Veins and arteries in the human body, pretended accurate calculation of the number of, ii. 75, note
- Vellore, taken by Muhomed Ali, iii. 236. Relieved by the English against Hyder Ali, iv. 150. English army forced from cantonments to convey supplies to it, 166. Appropriated for the residence of the family of Tippoo Saib after his death, vi. 97
- Vellum, fortress, taken by the English, iv. 60
- Verelst, one of the Bengal Council, and opposers of the measure of Mr. Vansittart, the President, iii. 216. Quoted on the free trade claimed by the Company's servants, 231, note. One of the Select Committee at Calcutta, 275. His concern in private trade, 289. Appointed chairman of the Select Committee and successor of Lord Clive as Governor of Bengal, 362. His regulation of bill remittances, 313. Resigns, 315
- Vicramaditya, sovereign of the world, real story of, ii. 101. Other applications of the name, *ibid.* and 102 note W
- Vieta, lived in an ill-instructed age, ii. 99
- Vijle, M., commands Tippoo's European troops at Seringapatam, v. 367
- Virtue, English, reflection on, as arising from English treatment of the Nabob of Arcot, v. 289, note
- Vishnu, one of the Hindu gods, i. 211. His various incarnations, 213
- Visigapatam, seized by Aurungzeb, i. 86. Taken from the English by Bussy, iii. 170
- Vizir Ali, Mr. Cherry assassinated by his attendants, vi. 131
- Volconda, European troops, at the battle of, fly shamefully from the field, iii. 81
- Volga, explored by Jenkinson, an Irishman, i. 12
- Volney, quoted on the effeminacy and indolence of the Asiatics, i. 331, note. On the inference to be inferred as to the arts, from the Indian labyrinths and temples, ii. 5, note. His account of the acquisition of science by the Arabians, 60. How characterised by Gibbon as a traveller, 51, note. Quoted on the Caravanseras of Syria, 158, note
- Voltaire, quoted, on the lofty expressions and mean ideas of the Romans towards their gods, i. 239, note. On the absurdity of refining upon the religion of ancient nations, 265, note. On the abdicities of the religious system of Zoroaster, 275, note. On oblations and penances, 283, note. On the impracticability of legislators enjoining a corrupt morality, 293, note. Says superstitions are invariably those of the most horrible acts of wickedness, 323, note. On the invention of rude nations in the arts, ii. 21, note. His character of the Song of Solomon, 40, note. Quoted on Eastern poetry, 51, note. Extract from his *La Pucelle d'Orleans*, *ibid.* Quoted on the scanty attainments of the Egyptians, 172, note. On the dissensions between Labourdonnais and Dupleix, iii. 51, note
- Voyages, various, account of, i. 3 to 14
- Waite, Sir Nicholas, accuses the London Company as thieves and confederates with pirates, i. 91, note; and their servants at Surat of using treasonable expressions towards the King, 101
- Wall, astonishing one built by the Tlascalans as a rampart against their enemies, the Mexicans, ii. 6
- Wallace, Colonel, his operations against Holkar, vi. 421
- Walla Jah, title bestowed on Mohamed Ali, iii. 379
- Wandewash, unnecessarily set on fire by Colonel Aldereron, iii. 131. Taken by the English, 150. Battle of, 251. Besieged by Tippoo Saib, iv. 139
- War, art of, among the ancient Hindus,

Zillah Judges, making them penal judges,
not good policy, v. 421
Zoroaster, Deity how described by, i.
237. Made the duties of agriculture a
part of his religion, ii. 21, note. Simi-
larity of his religious system to that of
the Hindu, 137
Zulfikar Khan, subahdar of Deccan,

accompanies Shah Aulum in his wars
ii. 301. Conduct of, to the sons of Shah
Aulum on the death of the Emperor,
304. Sides with Moiz ad Dien, who
succeeds to the throne, 304, 305. Is de-
feated by Ferokhsar, 305; and strangled
307

INDEX

TO WILSON'S HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA, VOLS. VII. VIII. IX.

- Abbas Mirza, son of the Shah of Persia, ix. 152. Attacks the Russians in Georgia, 153. Is defeated at Ganja, *ibid.* His victory over Paskevitch at Erivan, 155. Treaty of Peace, 156.
- Abolition of the Commercial Charter of the Company. Committee of the Lords and Commons appointed to take evidence, ix. 332. Indifference of the Commons to Indian affairs, 334—of the Lords, 335—of the Proprietors, 369. Motion introduced by Mr. Grant, 368. Opposed by Mr. Buckingham, 369. Resolutions agreed to by the Commons, 370—introduced in the House of Lords by the Marquis of Lansdowne, *ibid.* Objections of Lord Ellenborough, 371—his estimate of anticipated deficiency, 372. Remarks of the Duke of Wellington, 373—of Mr. Hume, Mr. Cutlar Ferguson, 378, 379—Sir Robert Inglis, 381. Amendments, *ibid.* Objections of the Court of Directors, *ibid.*, and 382. Expediency of, 387.
- Achet Sing, Raja of Singbhum, ix. 337. Assists in the pacification of Chota Nagpur, 238. Engaged in border feuds, 239.
- Adam, John, acting Governor-General, as senior member of the Council, ix. 4. Proceeds against the Editor of the Calcutta Journal, 5. Compels Palmer & Co. to close their transactions with the Nizam, 6. Cause of his unpopularity, *ibid.* Character, and tributes to his memory, *ibid.* note.
- Adams, Sir Frederick, ix. 194.
- Afghanistan. Foundation of the Kingdom, vii. 145. Its history, 146. Shah Shujah-ul-mulk, 147. Attempt on Kashmir, 148. Receives Mr. Elphinstone at Peshawar, 149. Solicits a pecuniary grant, concludes a treaty, 150. His army routed, he flies to Ludiana, *ibid.* Defeats the Amirs of Sindh, ix. 281. Is beaten by Dost Mahomed at Abbasabad, 282. Returns to Ludiana, 283.
- Aga Mir Moatammed-ud-Dowla pensioned by the king of Oude, ix. 175. The East India Company guaranteed his person and property, 258. Hostility of Nasir-ud-din towards, *ibid.* Decision of the British Government respecting his protection *ibid.* Retires to British territory, 259. His character and death, *ibid.*
- Agra Presidency, erection of, ix. 251.
- Ahmed Baksh Khan Nawab of Ferozporc, ix. 126.
- Ajmer Province, reasons for its annexation, viii. 281. Financial value of, *ibid.* note.
- Ajaygerh, Fort of, vii. 13 (see Bundelkhand).
- Akyab, port of Arakan. exports of, ix. 112, note.
- Alompra, a celebrated sovereign of Burma, his Conquests, ix. 20.
- Alves, Major, Political Agent at Jaypur, wounded by an assassin, ix. 325.
- Alwar, disturbances at. Attempted assassination of Ahmed Baksh Khan, ix. 126. The Raja of, disaffected to the British, 127. Intimidated by the fall of Burtporc, the Raja delivers up the instigators of the attempt on Ahmed Baksh Khan, 129. Becomes reconciled, 135.
- Amar Sing Thapa, Gorka chief, viii. 26 (see Nepal).
- Ambaji Ingla, Governor of Gohud, his transactions with Sindhi and Sir George Barlow, vii. 87.
- Amherst, Lord, appointed Governor-General, ix. 2. Remark on his previous Embassy to China, *ibid.* Engages in war Ava, 8. Proclamation, app. 11. His motives for declining to interfere with Durjan Sal's proceedings at Bhurtpore, 128. Countermands the orders of Sir David Ochterlony, 129. Adopts Sir C. Metcalfe's suggestions to remove Durjan Sal, 131. Receives an addition to his title, 142. Visits the Upper Provinces, 144. Interviews with the King of Oude at Lucknow, 144. Receives the missions of the Malwa and Mahratta States at Agra, 146. The deputation of the Rajput chiefs at Delhi, 148. Discussion with the King of Delhi, 149. Receives at Simla a friendly mission from Ranjit Sing, *ibid.* Is occupied with plans for ameliorating the internal administration of the Provinces, 167. His encouragement of education among the natives, 162. Reviews of his administration, 164.

Amir Khan, Afghan soldier of fortune assists Viceroy Mohammed, 1. See Holkar, vii. 55. Retains the command of his own troops, 56. Attacks the Raja of Jodhpur, afterwards ravages his dominions, 57. Treacherously murders Bawal Singh, *ibid.* Engaged by the Raja of Udaipur, 58. Instigates him to poison his daughter, 64. Enters a claim on the Raja of Berar, in behalf of Holkar, 216. Takes possession of Jabalpur, *ibid.* Protests against British interference, 217. Receives hostages for the payment of contribution, 218. Is defeated, escapes to Bhopal, 219. Followed by Col. Close to Seron, withdraws to Indore, 220. Confusion and rapine occasioned by his mercenaries in Rajputana, vii. 118, 122. Levies contributions at Krishnagerh, Bundi, and towns of Jaypur, *ibid.* His colleague, Mohammed Shah, attacked by the Rajput chief, Chand Singh. The Amir pursues the Rajputs to their capital, and plunders the country, 123. Receives a large ransom for the principality of Shekharati, 124. Compels the Raja of Jaypur to pay him tribute, and to dismiss Chand Singh, *ibid.* Promotes marriage alliances between the Rajas of Jodhpur and Jaypur, and at their solemnisation is treated as their equal, 125. Receives a payment from Jodhpur, and withdraws the troops of his colleague from Merta, 126. Is hired by the party of the Rani at Jodhpur to remove the Minister and the Guru, 127. Artfully murders them, 128, note. Besieges Jaypur, but retires at the instance of the Rani, 129. Besieges Madhurajpur, *ibid.* Protects the Pindari Karim Khan, 133. Is prevented from assisting the Pindaris on their retreat, 181. Intimidated by the position taken by General Ochterlony, consents to disband his army, and to ratify a British alliance, *ibid.* Part of his forces taken into British pay, *ibid.* Visits the British camp at Ajmere, and presents the memoir of his life, ix. 271, note.

Amritsar, site of the sacred temple of the Sikhs, disturbances at, vii. 112

Anjar district ceded to the British, viii. 92 (see Cutch). Attacked by insurgents, ix. 124

Apa Degal Nipankar submits to General Munro, viii. 228

Apa Saheb, Modaji Bhonsla, nephew of Raghuji, assumes the Regency of Nagpur, and signs a treaty with the British, viii. 97 (see Nagpur). Is made prisoner by the Resident, 251. Escapes on the march to Allahabad, 252. Takes refuge in the Mahadeo hills, 253. Cuts off a detachment under Capt. Sparkes, 268. Obstinate resistance of his adherents, 269, 270. Flies to Asirgerh, 271. Wanders in disguise to the Punjab, 273, and the Hima-

laya, *ibid.* Takes sanctuary in the temple of Maha Mandira, ix. 337, guaranteed by Man Singh, *ibid.*

Arakan, Principality of, invaded by the Burmas, ix. 8. The natives take refuge on the British frontier, 9. Emigration of a large body to Chittagong, *ibid.* Incursion of Rhyen gran, 13. Recaptured by the Burmas, 14. Disturbances of its frontier, 15. Ancient claim of its kings, 16. Its geographical features, 73-79. Occupied by the British, *ibid.* Ceded in perpetuity by the Burmas, 105. Presenting ravine state of, 112

Arakan, Capital of the Province, ix. 76. Taken by Brigadier Richards, 76. Its insubility, 74

Army, Insurrection of native troops at Vellore, vii. 84-93 (see Vellore). Disensions of, with the civil power at Madras, 152. The Commander-in-Chief at Madras not allowed a seat in the Council, 153. Disaffected at the retrenchments, 194. Colonel Munro's report on the Tent contract, *ibid.* Is arrested by the Commander-in-Chief, 195. Liberated by the Governor in Council, 197. General order, 194. The Adjutant-General and his deputy suspended, 199. Ferment among the officers, 200. Further suspensions, 201. Addresses to the Governor in Council, *ibid.* Insubordination of, 202. Threats to depose the Governor, *ibid.* Tests of adhesion to the Government required, 203. Meeting at Seringapatam, 204. Agitation at Hyderabad, 205. Return to obedience, 205, 206. Lenity of the Governor-General, 207, 208. Trials and sentences, 209. Arrangements for the Nepal war, viii. 7. Detail of the forces, 18. Forces of the second campaign, 47. Plan of the Pindari campaign, 154. Detail of the forces, 165. Reasons for the expedition to Rangoon, ix. 30. Force employed in Burma, 31. Experiment of attacking with native troops, unsupported by Europeans, 51. Insubordination of native troops, 67 (see Barrackpore). The siege of Bhurtpore, 131. Regiments employed in the assault of Bhurtpore, 137. Discontent of, at the reduction of the Batta, 169, 169. Remonstrances against the plan of the reduction, 170. General order in confirmation, 171. Investigation of the disbursements on account of, 172. Amount of reductions in the charges of, 173. Forces appointed for the occupation of Coorg, 245. Force assembled at Ajmere, under Brigadier Stevenson, 348, note. Employed in Shekhawat, 350

Asam, Principality of, sketch of its history and government, ix. 18. Taken possession of by the Burmas, 19. Entered by the British under Colonel Richards, 39.

- Is made a British province 64, 65. Burmas renounce their claims on, 106
Ashti, battle of, viii. 221, 222
Ara, Kingdom of, ix. 8 (see Burma).
- Baillie, Major, his influence with the Nawab Ghazi-ud-din,—attempts to effect reform, viii. 75. Ordered by Earl Moira to restrict his functions, 80. His projects opposed, 81. Vindicates his conduct, 82. Censured by Earl Moira, removed from Lucknow, *ibid.* His official conduct, 85
- Baiza Bai, favourite wife of Sindhia and his intended successor, ix. 146. 147. Deposits eighty lakhs with the East India Company for payment of the contingent, 148. Hopes to retain her power, 361. Extract from her correspondence with Lord W. Bentinck, 362. On the revolt of the minor Rajah she applies to the British Resident and is prevailed upon to withdraw from Gwalior, 363. Removes to Agra, *ibid.* Encamps at Furrukabad, *ibid.* Retires to the Dekhin, 364
- Baji Rao, Peshwa of the Mahrattas viii. 257 (see Mahrattas).
- Banca, a dependency of Palembang, ceded to England by the Sultan, vii. 271
- Banswara, treaty with the Raja of, viii. 371 (see Rajputana).
- Barabhum, Zemindari, disturbances in, ix. 248. The house of the judge burnt, *ibid.* Ganga Narayan defies the authorities at Randi, and repulses the troops, 249. He is killed at Singbhum, *ibid.* Judicial regulations unsuitable, *ibid.* Commissioner appointed, 250
- Bareilly, city of Rohilkhand, state of popular feeling viii. 86. Resists the house tax, 87. Collection commenced by the magistrate, 88. The Mufti appealed to, *ibid.* Popular insurrection, 89. Demands of the rioters, 90. They murder Mr. Leicester. Insurgents dispersed, *ibid.* The town submits to the tax, 91
- Barlow, Sir George, Governor-General, (provisionally), vii. 76. Nominated permanently by the Court of Directors, *ibid.* Remarks on his political administration, 75. His successful management of the revenue, 76, 81. Superseded by Lord Minto, 167. Appointed Governor of Madras, *ibid.* Causes of his unpopularity, *ibid.* Unpropitious state of society, 168. Case of Mr. Sherson, *ibid.* His decision reversed by the Court of Directors, 169. Case of the investigation of the Carnatic debts, 170. Injudicious interference in favour of Reddy Rao, 174. Case of Colonel Munro, 190. Commands his release, 192. Propriety of the proceeding, *ibid.* His public order respecting General Macdowall, 193. Remarks, 194. Suspends Major Boles and Colonel Capper, *ibid.* Remarks, 195. Extensive suspension of officers, 196. His charges against them, *ibid.* Aggravating circumstances, 197. His letter of approbation to the officers at Hyderabad repudiated by them, 199. Dangerous crisis, *ibid.* Difficulties of his position, 200. Corrective measures, 201. Effects of, *ibid.* Employs Colonel Close to interpose at Hyderabad, 205. The test of a thesion signed, 207. The Governor-General vindicates the proceedings of the Governor of Madras, *ibid.* Contrast of their manner of proceeding, 208. Review of his conduct, 210. Diversity of opinion in the Court of Directors, 213. Recalled, 214
- Baroda, court of the Gaekwar (see Guzerat), iii. 87
- Barrackpore, discontent of the Bengal troops at, ix. 68. Absurd dread of the Burmas, 69. Other causes of discontent, 69, 70. The 47th disobeys an order to parade for a march, 71. Petition to be dismissed, *ibid.* Are fired upon, 72. Punishments, *ibid.*
- Batta allowances, history of, ix. 168, 171. Reduction of, 172
- Bayley, Wm. Butterworth, Governor-General ad interim, ix. 167
- Behar, its inhabitants, viii. 87. Social condition, 88
- Benares the people oppose a house-tax, vii. 334. Passive resistance, *ibid.* Prepare to march to Calcutta, 335. Their petition, Appendix, 424. Character of its inhabitants, 336. Affray between Mussulmans and Hindus, *ibid.* Sipahis neutral—turbulent disposition of the populace, 337
- Bentinck, Lord William, Governor of Madras, arrests the Zemindari settlements, vii. 36. Supports the change of the costume of the Sipahis, 93. Is censured by the Court of Directors, and recalled, 104. Appointed Governor-General, ix. 167. His indifference to popular agitation, 170, and note. His arrangements for effecting retrenchment in the public expenditure, 172. Visits the eastern settlements, 173. Abolition of the Sutte, 185, et seq. Forms the legislative council, 203. Arranges the settlement of the revenue of the western provinces, 204. His activity and success in completing the settlement, 206. Promotes education, 213. Discourages the study of the native tongues, *ibid.* Character of his administration, 372
- Berar the Raja Ragoji Bhonsla's pretensions founded on the promises of Lord Cornwallis, vii. 35, 36. Obtains the cession of Sambhalpur, 37. Although discontented and harassed by Holkar, Sindhia, and the Pindaris, maintains the British alliance, 52, 53 (see Nagpur).
- Bettia, district of, viii. 9, 10 (see Nepal Saran).

mer stopped by Capt. Trevelyan's 312, 347. to, *ibid* and note. Dhils, a barbarous tribe, viii. 275. Incursions repressed, 266. Their chiefs engaged in the police, *ibid*. Form a militia, 267. Incited to insurrection by Godaji Dhangla, ix. 89. Again formed into a local corps, 90, note. Oppose the troops of Dowlut Sing, 359, 360 Bhim Sing, Rana of Udaypur, his death, ix. 304 (see Udaypur). Sketch of his life *ibid*. of its origin, vii. 48. Pr

Bhim Sing, Rana of Bhopal, 304 (see Udaypur).
 reign, *ibid.*
 Bhopal, Principality of, its origin, vii. 47.
 Invaded by the Raja of Berar, 48. Pro-
 tected by the British Government, 49.
 Partition of, threatened by the Bhonsla
 and Sindhia, viii. 137. The city of Bho-
 pal described, *ibid.* Events of the siege,
 138. Successfully defeated by Vizir
 Mohammed, 139. Again threatened by
 the forces of Jean Baptiste Filore, the
 British interpose, 140. Their interference
 protested against by Sindhia, *ibid.* Vizir
 Mohammed retracts his overture, British
 intercourse with him suspended, 191.
 Dies and is succeeded by Nazar Moham-
 med, 142. Formal treaty with the Na-
 wab, 367. His unfortunate death, 368.
 Settlement of the succession, 369. The
 Begum maintains her authority, ix. 271.
 The Nawab appeals to the British, 272.
 Interposition being declined by Lord W.
 Bentinck, the Begum and the Nabob
 make war, 273. Mediation effected,
ibid. Obligations of the Indian Go-
 vernment in the succession to the throne, 274.

Interp. Bentinck, the Reg. Mediation.
make war, 273. *ibid.*
Bhurtpore, obligations of the Indian Go-
vernment to maintain the succession to,
in the line of Ranahadir, ix. 126. The re-
gency of, assumed by Durjan Sal, 127.
Sir D. Ochterlony opposes Durjan Sal's
proceedings, 127. The Governor-General
overrules Sir D. Ochterlony's measures,
128. Reasons for suspending the re-
quired interference, 130. Determina-
tion of the Indian Government to main-
tain the minor Raja, 131. Commence-
ment of military operations against, *ibid.*
An advanced column cuts off the water
intended to fill the ditch, *ibid.* Situation
and defences of, 135. Points of attack
chosen, *ibid.* Batteries opened, 136.
The peculiar construction of the ramparts
renders mining necessary, 137. Mines
sprung and ditch entered, 138. Gorkha
battalion distinguishes itself, *ibid.* The
advance of the storming party blown up,
139. Arrangements for the assault, *ibid.*
Successful assault, *ibid.* Durjan Sal cap-
tured, 141. Amount of killed and
wounded, *ibid.* The minor Raja rein-
stated and government arranged, 142.

Various narratives of the operations of the siege referred to, 142
Bhyri Sal, of Samodo, made Regent of ix. 316. Removed. Ibid. Returns to his jaghirdar under British guarantee, *ibid.* Claims to be present at the presentation of the young Raja as hereditary Patel of the Raj, disallowed by the Rani, 317. His aversion to Jota Ram, 321. Is accused of having employed assassins to murder Jota Ram, 322. The accusation proved by Capt. Spiers to be without foundation, 321. On the death of the Raja is made president of the council of regency, 325. Conspiracy against, 468
Black, Capt., assistant to the resident Udaypur, ix. 301. Successfully defends the borders, *ibid.* His death, 304
Blake, Mr., murder of, at Jaypur 325
Bhambha, wounded in person, 325
Bhambha chief, vi

Blake, Mr., murder of, 325
Boileau, Lient., wounded in person
counter with a Ghorka chief, vi
Narrative of tour in Rajwara refer
ix. 472
Bradshaw, Major, appointed to m
with the Gorkhas, viii. 9. Surpr
Nepal General Parsuram Th
Conditions proposed by, to the M
63
Bham, Mr., Editor of the
of his licence

Nepal
Conditions proposed by
63
Buckingham, Mr., Editor of the
Journal, deprived of his licence
Bundelkhand, Province of, rev.
History, vii. 8. Chatrasal Raj
to a portion of it,* 9. Divis
death, 9, 10. Invaded by Af
10. His descendants unable
session, 11. Introduction
authority, *ibid.* Difficulty of
a government, 12. Necessit
the forts Ajaygerh and
Failure of conciliatory me
it to obedience, 120. L
forts, 121. Ajaygerh cap
Martindell, 122. The K
man Dawa repairs to
Tragical fate of his fam
Raja of Kotra assisted ag
124 (see Gopal Sing). A
128. Surrender of that
to Dariao Sing and of
130. Insurrection of H
103
Division of Har

130. India
103
Bundi, a division of Har
pressed by the Mahar
Kajasthan).
Burma Empire, arrog
vii. 266. Descript
frontiers, ix. 7. D
British, 8. Conqu
Sends a force to C
refugees, 10. Att
escence to fear, 1
toration of a body
in Chittagong, 10

of a British envoy (Colonel Syme) at Ava, 12, and note. Results of Captain Canning's mission, 13, 14. Viceroy of Arakan demands of the British the delivery of the refugees, 14. Puts forth a claim to Ramoo, Chittagong, etc., as ancient dependencies of Arakan, 16. Gives assistance to the Raja Chandra Kanta of Asam, 18, 19. Takes possession of the territory, 19. Relations with Manipur and Kachar, 20, 21. Countenances border aggressions on Chittagong, 22, 23. Occupies the islet of Shahpuri, Presumptuous [spirit of its government, 25, and note. Commences hostilities in Kachar, 26, 27. British proclamation of war replied to by the viceroy of Pegu, 29. Most efficacious means of invasion considered by the British, 30, 31. The inhabitants abandon Rangoon, 37. Resistance made by Burma forces in Asam, 39.—In Kachar, *ibid.*—In Chittagong, 40, 41. Withdraws troops for the defence of the interior, 42. Conferences proposed, 45. Army driven from Kemendine, 46, 47. Concentrates at Donabew, 48. Great loss at Kamarut, 50. Talains, 52. Abandons the provinces of Tena-serim, 52. Tsada Woon defeats the Madras troops at Kyklu, 54. Is beaten at Thantabain, 56. Operations of Maha Bandoola against Rangoon, 57—61. Army dispersed at Kokein, 63. Forces driven out of Asam, 64, 65. Retire from Kachar before Gambhir Sing, 66, 67. Driven from Arakan by General Morrison, 76. Talain chiefs offer to join the British with a force, 81. Army at Donabew repels the attack of General Cotton, 86. Death of Bandoola and abandonment of Donabew, 89. Evacuation of Prome, 89. Proposals to negotiate, 90. Obstinacy of the Court, 91. Enmity of the Siamese against Ava, *ibid.* Army assembled at Miaday and Tongho, 94. Sir A. Campbell's offer of a conference accepted, 94. Terms of peace proposed by the British, *ibid.* Rejected, 96. Burmas renew operations, *ibid.* Repulse the British at Watigaon, *ibid.* Defeated and broken up at Prome, 95. Deserted by the Shans, and falls back to Melloon, 98. Treaty agreed to, 99. Execution delayed, 100. Melloon captured, *ibid.* The court send a deputation, 101. The last army under Zayyah-thuyan vanquished at Pagahm, 102, 103. Forces at Sitang dispersed by Colonel Pepper, 105. Peace concluded at Yandabo, 106. Court not reconciled to the reception of a British resident, 103. Settlement of western boundary, *ibid.*, note. Form of government, 56, note.

Burmese War, unpromising circumstances attending it, ix. 7. Major Newton attacks

a Burma force at Bikrampur, 25. Capt. Johnstone disperses a large force at Bhadrapur, 26. Lieut.-Col. Bowen repulsed at Dudhpatii, 27. Their mode of warfare, 29. Motives for attacking Ava by the Irawadi, 30. Forces embarked, 31. Position of Rangoon, 36. Desertion of the Town, 37. Deficiency of supplies and conveyances, *ibid.* Positions taken up, 33. Lieut.-Col. Richards' operations in Asam, 49. Lieut.-Col. Innes' movement in Kachar, *ibid.* Advance of Maha Bandoola on Ramoo, 41. Defeat of Capt. Noton's force, 42. Panic in Chittagong, *ibid.* Cheduba and Negrais reduced by Major Wahab and Brigadier M'Cleagh, 43. General Sir A. Campbell reconnoitres and takes a stockade, 44. Unsuccessful attack on Kemendine, 45. Found deserted, garrisoned by the British, 46. Sickness in the Army, 46, 47. The Burmese plan to hem in the Army checked, Captain Isaacs killed, the town of Dalla destroyed, 48. Works on the Lyne and at Kamarut stormed and occupied by General Macbean, 49, 50. Syrian the ancient capital of Pegu taken, 50. Tavoy and Mergui taken by Lieut.-Colonel Miles, 51. Martaban and the district of Ye by Lieut.-Col. Godwin, 52. The stockades on the Rangoon river for twenty miles destroyed by Brigadier-General Fraser and a flotilla under Captain Chads, 53. The Madras infantry under Lieut.-Col. Smith and Major Wahab unsupported by Europeans attack Kyklu and are repulsed with loss, 54. Major Wahab killed, *ibid.* Brigadier M'Cleagh destroys the post, 55. Major Evans and Captain Chads take and destroy the fort of Thantabain, 56. Maha Bandoola takes command of the Burmas with large reinforcements, 57. Closes upon the British lines, 58. Is driven back, 59. Maha Thilwa strongly entrenched at Kokein routed by General Campbell, and Brigadier Cotton, 63, 64. Other divisions dislodged at Syriam and Thantabain, 81. The difficulty of obtaining supplies and conveyance occasions the suggestion of other plans, *ibid.* Objections of Sir Thomas Munro, 82. Arrangements for the advance to the interior, 83. Major Sale lands at Cape Negrais, *ibid.* The Burmas retreat to Donabew, 84. Sir A. Campbell marches to Lyne and through Tharawa to Yuadit, 85. General Cotton repulsed at Donabew, 86. Capts. Rose and Cannon killed, 87. Sir A. Campbell returns to Tharawa and takes Donabew, 88. Advances to Prome, 89. Attempted negotiation, 90. Burma force recruited, 90. Armistice, 94. War renewed, 96. Colonel M'Dowall supported by Major Evans and Colonel Smith defeated at

- Wattagan, 57. Colonel McDowall and Lieut. Ranken killed, *ibid.* note. General attack on the Burmas, 94. British officers killed, 99, note. The Burma force broken up, *ibid.* Rallies at Melloon, and the British advance to Patanagoh, 100. Melloon captured, 102. Battle of Pagahm, 103. Burr, Colonel, defeats the Mahrattas at Kirki, *viii.* 167, 168.
- Campbell, Sir Archibald, appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Burma, *ix.* 32 (see *Burmeso War*).
- Canning, the Honourable George, his observations in Parliament on the renewal of the Company's charter, *vii.* 544. His Indian policy, *viii.* 135, 136. Appointed Governor-General, *ix.* 1. Appointment cancelled, 2.
- Canning, Capt., his mission to Ava, *ix.* 13. Returns from Rangoon without visiting the capital, 15. Political agent with the army, 27.
- Carey, William, Baptist Missionary, his perseverance, *vii.* 310. Appointed a Professor of the College of Fort William, 311.
- Ceylon, *viii.* 61. Mission to the King of Kandy, 62. Unsuccessful, *ibid.* Mr. North's proposed treaty, 63. Mutusami made King, 65. Major Davie evacuates Kandy, *ibid.* Gives up Mutusami, *ibid.* The English murdered, 66. Ferocity of the king, 67. Governor Brownrigg deposes the king, 68. Insurrection, 69. Tranquillity restored, 70. Administration reformed, 72.
- Chandu Lal, officer of the Nizam, *vii.* 267 (see *Hyderabad*). His prodigality, *viii.* 358.
- Charans or Bhats, hereditary bards, securities for the performance of contracts in the West of India, *vii.* 36. Horrid sacrifice of, *ibid.* note.
- Charmed men in the Burmese army, *ix.* 53.
- Chatrasal, Raja, his elevation, *vii.* 9. Dispossessed by Bangash Khan, 10. Relieved by the Peshwa Bajji Rao, 10. Division in the territory at his death, *ibid.*
- Cheetoo, his origin, *viii.* 131 (see *Pindaris*).
- China trade, anticipated extension of, *ix.* 331. Reasons for throwing it open, 232. Necessity of opening it, 347.
- Chinese oppose the occupation of Macao by British troops, *vii.* 227. Firmness and forbearance of their conduct, 228. Nepal tributary to the emperor, *viii.* 4. Interpose in the affairs of Nepal, 86. Letter of, on the subject, 412. Settlers at Tavoy support the British troops, *ix.* 278.
- Chittagong, district of, receives a body of emigrants from Arakan, *ix.* 11. Aggressions of the Burmas on, 23. Occupation of Shalpur, *ibid.* Burma incursion and victory at Ramoo, 41. Alarm of the inhabitants, 42. Burmas finally retire, *ibid.*
- Choora, tribe of, (see *Zemindari of Barabhum*).
- Cholera, the disease known in India from the earliest times, *viii.* 178. Assumes a new form, *ibid.* Rapidity of its ravages in the army, *ibid.* Breaks out at Hoesinabad, 271. Appears in the armies on the Irawadi, *ix.* 143. Greater fatality in the Burma army, *ibid.*
- Chota Nagpur, its geographical position, *ix.* 231. Condition of its population, 232. Its government, 233. Outbreaks of the Koles, *ibid.* Interposition of the government of Bengal, 237. Destruction of the insurgents, 234. Want of interpreters, *ibid.* and note.
- Christian missions, success of Roman Catholic Missionaries in the south of India, *vii.* 310. Lutherans, *ibid.* Perseverance of Mr. Carey, 341. Not permitted to remain at Calcutta, the Baptist Missionary Society's ministers settle at Serampore, 342. Tolerated by Lord Wellesley, 343. Restricted by Sir George Barlow and Lord Minto, *ibid.* Their literary and educational efforts encouraged, 344. Episcopal establishment of Calcutta, *viii.* 402. First Bishop consecrated, 403. His contracted powers, *ibid.* Character of Bishop Middleton, 404. Founds Bishop's College near Calcutta, 405. Appointment of Chaplains of the Church of Scotland, 406. Missionary reinforcements, *ibid.* Their number and distribution, 407. Societies for translating the Bible, 408. Obstacles to the conversion of the natives, 409. Diversion to British residents, 410. Encouraged in the improvement of native education, 411. (See *Schools*). Bishop Heber, *ix.* 163. Bishops James and Turner, *ibid.* Remarks on Bishop Heber's Journal, *ibid.* note. Discussion in the Commons upon additional Bishoprics, 380. Mr. O'Connell's objections against the erection of a dominant church in India, *ibid.* Appointment of Bishops to Madras and Bombay *ibid.*
- Circars, Northern, character of the land-owners of, *viii.* 95. Tribute for, redeemed, 357. A retreat for outlaws, *ix.* 271. Outlaws seized, and quiet restored, 272.
- Clove, Colonel, resident at Poona, sent to use his influence with the disaffected officers at Hyderabad, *vii.* 179.
- Cochin, its position, *vii.* 4. The Raja signs a new treaty, 197. Captain Blacker and Colonel Munro improve the revenue of, *ibid.* Amount of tribute, *ibid.*, note.
- Collectors of revenue, powers of, *ix.* 257. Judicial powers, 178. Special Commissioners appointed to hear appeals from, 179.

- Combermere, Lord, Commander-in-Chief, ix. 80. Orders abandonment of Arakan, *ibid.* Commands the army at Bhurtpore, 133
- Coolies, some account of, ix. 118
- Coorg, savage ferocity of its Raja, ix. 243. He forbids intercourse with the British, 244. Is deposed by proclamation, 245. The territory of, entered by British forces, 245. Colonel Lindesay, occupies Madhukaira, 246. Colonel Waugh advances to Rabata, 247. Is repulsed at Bak, 248. Defeat of Colonel Jackson's detachment, 249. Surrender of the Raja, 250. British engagements on the annexation of, 251
- Cornwallis, Marquis, tributes of respect to his memory, vii. 76
- Coromandel, or eastern coast of the peninsula. The Company's possession extended throughout, vii. 6
- Craddock, Sir John, Commander-in-Chief at Madras, vii. 90. Reforms the costume of the Sipahis, 91. Obsistently enforces a change of dress, 92. Is recalled, vii. 104
- Cutch, principality and gulph of, native disorders in, viii. 75. Promotes the disturbances in Katiwar, 76. Reduced by Colonel East, 77. Anjar occupied by the British, *ibid.* Finally ceded, 78. Treaty with the Rao of Bhuj, *ibid.* Domestic disorders among the chiefs, 313. A British division under Sir W. Keir, takes the fort of Bhuj, 314. The Rao deposed—a new treaty with the Jharagias, *ibid.* Transactions on the borders, *ibid.* Occupation of Loxa by Smith's troops, 315. The aggression discovered, 315. Invaded by the refugees in Smith, in 123. Attack on Anjar, 124. Reinforcements sent under Colonel M. Napier, *ibid.*
- Cumach, sources of discontent, vii. 57. Inactive Ministers, 58. Obstinacies of Justice, *ibid.* Police, *ibid.* Dominant of Khanda, 59. Rite of Jambhavan, who attacks the police, repulses the troops, 120. Takes Jambhavan, 121. Is released at Devanah, *ibid.* Insuperable attack, 122. Martial law proclaimed, *ibid.* General Marshall restores tranquillity, *ibid.* Assassination of the Raja, 123. Corruption and anarchy of the public administration, 124. Jambhavan pardoned, *ibid.* Disturbances of by the Minister of Devanah, in 125
- Dahur (see *see* *see*), vii. 57
- Darywan, Commander of Bassein, his forces, vii. 11. Secured 51. Sends a Jambhavan, makes his escape, *ibid.* Takes refuge with Jambhavan, M. Schomberg and returns to Bassein, *ibid.*
- Date of the East India Company, advantages of, vii. 124. Account of its representation, 125. Reformation of, in 126
- Dekhin, viceroy of, Sekandar Jah, his character and the causes of discontent with the British connexion, vii. 19, 20. Threatened dissolution of alliance, 21. Sir G. Barlow determines to force the Nizam to maintain the connexion, 22. Arguments on this question, 23. Sekandar Jah alters his conduct. His favourite Mahipat Ram hostile to the British, (see Mahipat Ram), 24. Negotiations for a successor to the Minister Mir Alem, 26. Excesses of the princes, viii. 75. The princes Samsem and Mubarik-ud-Dowla resist the Resident's force, 76. Are removed to Golconda, *ibid.* The reformed subsidiary force of, 338. Take the fort of Nowa, *ibid.* Improvidence of the minister, *ibid.* The Resident, Mr. Russell, authorised to interpose, 339. His instruction, *ibid.* Reforms of Sir Charles Metcalf, *ibid.* Counteraction of Chandu Lal, *ibid.* Financial embarrassments of, 344. Debts of, to Palmer and Company, 245, note. Nazim-ud-Dowla, on his accession, determines to manage his own affairs, ix. 299. The Nizam sanctions the appointment of arbitrators to adjust the claims of Palmer and Company, 253
- Dekhin, king of, representative of the dynasty of Timur, vii. 7. Shah Alem, died December, 1697, 16. Shah Akbar the second, succeeded, 17. His third son, Mirza Jehangir, about to be invested with the honors of heir-apparent, 19. Opposed by the British Resident, *ibid.* The prince is sent prisoner to Allahabad, 20. Stayed of, increased by Lord Minto, 21. Account of event to, observations, *ibid.* 126. Summary of, recounted by the Nawab of Oude, viii. 378. Endeavour of, to obtain an increase of the British portion, in 140. Deposes Ramanah Roy to the throne of England, 224. The proceeding resented by the Governor-General, 225
- Dhar, state of, taken under British protection, vii. 224. Disturbed by an invasion of the Bhils, in 224. By Uder Singh's pretensions, 225. Pacified by British intervention, *ibid.*
- Dharal Singh, heir of Dhar Singh, Raja of Jodhpur, vii. 67. Protected by the Raja of Bassein, takes refuge in the British territories, 71. See *see* *see*
- Dhar, the position of, in Talpura, vii. 51. Ends of their conspiracy, 52. Their resolution by force, 53
- Devan Singh of Dharwar, induces a force, in 127. Compelled to waive his rights, a partition allowed him, 54
- Dharwar, the principal dependency of Dharwar, in 128. See Dharwar, his territory, 129
- Dharwar, the, on negotiation of their settlement, among various their exclusive policy, vii. 224. Examine their supremacy in the Eastern Archipelago, 225

Dutch Settlements. Reasons for capturing them, vii. 246. Attack of Amboyna, 247. Surrendered. The Commandant tried and shot by General Daendels, 248. Attack of Banda and surrender to Captain Cole, 249. Attack on Ternate, and surrender to Captain Tucker, *ibid.* Sir Edward Pellew burns the ships and destroys the fort of Gresik, 250. Java reinforced and General Daendels appointed Governor, 251. Gen. Jansens arrives with more troops, *ibid.* Expedition against Java, 254. British force land at Chillingyl—occupy the city, 256. Take post at Weltevreden, 257. Advance to Cornelis, 258. Arrangements for an assault, 259. Advance of Colonel Gillespie's column, *ibid.* Advance of Colonel Gibbs' division, *ibid.* Colonel Macleod killed, 260. The Dutch reserve dispersed—prisoners taken, 261. General Jansens retires to Cheribon, *ibid.* Driven from his last position by Sir S. Auchmuty, 262. Surrender of Java, *ibid.* Dutch residents at Palembang murdered by the Sultan, 263. Advantage to the colonists of the occupation by the English, 264. Restored to the Dutch, *ibid.*

East. Colonel, his operations in Cutch, viii. 77. In Okamandel, 78

East India Company, Sir George Barlow, Governor-General, vii. 76. Derangement of the Finances in India, 77. Retrenchment of the military expenses indispensable, 78. Political views sacrificed to pecuniary exigencies, 79. Reduction of the rate of interest on the Loans, 80. Great diminution of expenditure effected by Sir G. Barlow, 81. Discussion on the expediency of the King's ministers having the chief patronage, 105. Lord Minto Governor General by compromise for Lord Lauderdale, 108. Arrangement of the patronage, 108. Committee of the House of Commons inquire into its affairs, 114. Decreased value of its import trade, 116. Sanction the expulsion of the Dutch from Java, and abandonment of the island to the natives, 264. (see Java). A surplus of local revenue obtained at the close of Lord Minto's administration in India, 345. History of the Indian debt, 346. Of its partial transfer to Europe, 347. Balance of surplus remitted in favour of India, 348. Account of bullion, *ibid.* note. Loans from the Government, 352. Sale of appointments, 353. Investigated by the House of Commons, 354. Renewal of their charter, 355. Views of the Directors—of the minister, 361. Lord Melville intimates a determination to open the trade, 362. Petition for a renewal of the charter, 503. Counter

petitions, 363. Pretensions of the outports, 365. Objections of the Company, 366. Petition for the renewal of the privileges, and repayment of their debt, 367. Heard by both Houses of Parliament on the question of their exclusive trade, 368. Resolution passed by the Commons, 369. Discussions on the bill, 369. In the House of Lords, 402. Advantages and disadvantages of the new Charter, 407. Reflections on the rise of the Indian Empire, 410. Comparative statements of the amount of their trade, 412, note. Earl Mordaunt, Governor-General, financial pressure, viii. 2. Accepts a loan from the Nabob of Oude, 79. A second loan, 83. Lord Amherst, Governor-General, ix. 2. Loan, to, from the Raj, Regent of Gwalior, 149. Loans from native powers, 163. Increase of financial burdens, 163. Comparative financial statement, 1827-28, 164. Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General, deficiency of the public revenue, 167. Reduces the extra pay of the officers of the army, 164. Revenue required by, on account of territorial administration, 172. Attempts of, to reduce the interest of their debt to four per cent., 208. Surplus revenue obtained by, 209. Statement of the revenue, and charges made to Parliament, 210. Discussions on renewal of the Charter, 337. Excess of charge from 1814-15 to 1828-29 on territorial account, 317. Reports of territorial funds and estimates, 347, notes. Commercial privileges of, abolished, *ibid.* See abolition. Ministerial plan of liquidation, 348. Stock of, *ibid.* Proposition of the Court of Directors, 349. Guarantee fund, 358. Pledge of the Government, *ibid.* Differences with the Board of Control, *ibid.* Asaf-ad-Dowla and James Hodges' debts, 358-60. Reasons for the interposition of the Company between the administration of England and India, 363, 364. See parliamentary influence. Propositions for the new Charter, 265. Additions to the Supreme Council, 366. Bishops to Madras and Bombay, 367. Natives not to be disabled from holding office on account of birth or religion, 367. Free access of the Europeans to old possessions, 368. Assimilation of the system of law, 369. Term of the Charter, 20 years, 374. Court of Directors enabled to make changes in the distribution of the Presidencies, *ibid.* Two chaplains in each Presidency to be of the Church of Scotland, 376. Objections of the Court of, to certain clauses of the Bill, 377. The Governor-General (sanctioned by the Court of Directors),

- to be enabled to grant money for the purposes of instruction and public worship to any Christian sect, 381. Observations on the new Bill, addressed to the Court of Proprietors, 382. Bill passed, remarks on it, 384. The legislature, ill calculated to take correct views of Indian affairs, 385. Necessity of maintaining the authority of a Court of Directors, 387
- Education, viii. 409. See Schools
- Elphinstone, Honble. Mountstuart. His mission to Kabul, vii. 145. Proceedings as Resident at Poonah, on the murder of Gangadhar Sastri, viii. 112. And for suppressing of Trimbuk, 157. Menaced by the Peshwa, 167. Joins the troops at Kirki, *ibid.* Proclaims the Raja of Satara, 219. Legislative improvements by, as Governor of Bombay, ix. 161. Discussions with the Gaekwar, 279
- Fatfeh Mohammed, Arab officer, minister in Cutch, viii. 73
- Fatfeh Sing, minister of the Gaekwar, viii. 74. His death, 333
- Firozpur, Nawab of, his elevation, ix. 127. Dissensions on the succession to, of Shams-ud-din, 256. The British Commissioner assassinated, 257. The Nawab convicted and hanged, *ibid.*
- Fraser, Commissioner at Delhi. His proceedings irritate the Nawab of Firozpur, ix. 257. Is assassinated, *ibid.*
- French, the, Treaty of with Persia, vii. 157. Activity of the embassy of, *ibid.* Sacrifice of Persia to Russia, 158. The success of their cruisers in the Indian seas, 231. Resisted by the Company's traders, *ibid.* Admiral Linois beaten off by Captain Dance, 231. They capture several regular Indiamen, 232. St. Paul on the island of Bourbon taken by surprise, 233. General des Bruslys kills himself, 334. Colonel St. Suzanne surrenders Bourbon to the British, 234. They destroy the Sirius, Nereide, and Magicienne at Grand Port, 235. Take the Iphigenia, 236. Blockade Bourbon, take the Africaine, and abandon her, 237. Lose La Venus and her prize, the Ceylon, *ibid.* General Decaen surrenders the Mauritius to General Abercrombie, 238. Napoleon reinforces the Dutch in Java, 249
- Gaekwar, Mahratta chief of Guzerat, vii. 30, (see Guzerat)
- Gambhir Sing (see Manipur).
- Gangadhar Sastri, the resident's assistant at Baroda, viii. 79. Sent as negotiator to Poonah under British sanction, 107. Tampered with by the Peshwa, 108. Declines a marriage alliance, 109. Is assassinated, 110, 111. The arrest and delivery of Trimbuk as an accessory to the murder required by the Governor-General, 112
- Gardner, Hon. Mr., resident at Khatmandu, viii. 138
- Gardner, Colonel, operations in Nepal, viii. 41
- Ghafur Khan, confederate of Amir Khan, viii. 172. His lands confirmed to him in the treaty with Holkar, 174. Friendly intervention of the British after his death, ix. 279
- Gokla Bapu, general of the Mahrattas, viii. 153. Loses the battle of Kirki, 158, 160. Anticipates the desertion of the Sipahis, 160, note. Fights the battle of Ashti, 221. Slain, 222. His history and character, *ibid.* Generous behaviour of his family towards the Peshwa, 261
- Ghazi-ud-din Hyder, Nawab of Oude, viii. 86, (see Oude). Made King, 417. His interview with Lord Amherst, ix. 417. His character, *ibid.*
- Gibbs, Colonel, disperses the revolted troops near Seringapatam, vii. 151. Commands a column at the storm of Cornelis in Java, 259
- Gillespie, Lieut.-Colonel, embarks for Java, vii. 254. Occupies Batavia, 258. Leads the assault on Cornelis, 259. Takes two redoubts, 259. Pursues and disperses the Dutch army, 260. The success of the conquest due to his promptitude, 261. Dethrones the Sultan of Palembang, 264. Commands a division in Nepal, viii. 18. Killed at the attack of Kalanga, 19. His character, 22
- Goa, in possession of the Portuguese, vii. 5. Partly under the protection of British troops, 313
- Gonds, a supposed original tribe, viii. 264
- Gopal Sing, makes submission in the district of Kotra, vii. 123. Retires to the hills, and delays the pacification of the country, 124. Devastates Panna and Tiroha, 125. Repulses Captain Wilson, *ibid.* Again falls upon Tiroha, entrenches at Jhargerh, 126. Surprised by Colonel Wilson, 127. Routed by Colonel Brown at Killeri, *ibid.* At the Dowani Pass, 129. By Captain Wilson at Kshirgaon, *ibid.* Flies to Sagar, makes terms and settles at Panwari, 128
- Gorkha, tribe of, viii. 3, (see Nepal).
- Governors-General, (see East India Company)
- Govind Chandra, Raja of Kachar, ix. 22. Seeks assistance from the Burmese, 23. Is re-established by the British, *ibid.* Is murdered, 225
- Grant, Sir John, member of the Supreme

- its Rajas, vii. 59. Quarrels of the Raja, Man Sing, 61-63. Abdication of Man Sing, viii. 129. Contracts alliance with the British, 357. Man Sing resumes the government, 358. British interposition, ix. 359. Arrangement with the Thakurs, 360. Mherwara yielded to British superintendence, *ibid.* Threatened by Dhokal Sing, 361. Solicits British protection, 362. Discriminating instructions of British agent at, 363. Devotion of Man Sing to the Jogis, 364. Encourages border depredations and shelters the Khosas, 365. Refuses to apprehend Thugs and other malefactors, 366. Is intimidated by an assemblage of British force, 370. Terms acceded to by the Raja, *ibid.* and note.
- Judicature, separate Courts established, vii. 81. Complexion of the existing system of, 271. Hindu institutions, advantages of, 273. Arbitrations or Panchayats, 274. Unforeseen evils of the new Courts, 275. Delays, *ibid.* Objections to Native Judges, 276. Reasons for employing them, 277. Necessity for separating civil and penal courts, 278. Employment of Native Judges, viii. 281. Extension of the system ordered by the Board of Control, 283-284.—Difficulties of recurrence to it, 285. Regulation of the powers of the Civil Courts, 286-287. Regulations of, recommended by the Court of Directors, ix. 157. Objections to the introduction of the new regulations in Bengal, 158-159. Review of the progress made towards an amelioration of the systems in Bengal between 1814-1826, 158-161.—In Madras, 161-164. Auxiliary Courts of, instituted at Madras, 164. Trial by Jury introduced, *ibid.* Code of regulations superseding previous enactments, introduced at Bombay, 162. Merits of the code, 166. Judicial functions exercised by collectors of revenue, 170-171. Inefficiency of the provincial Courts of, 176. System remodelled by Lord W. Bentinck, 172. European functionaries alone totally inadequate to the wants of the country, 173. Appointment of Sudder Amins, 174. Second Sudder Court, at Allahabad, 175. Regulations of Courts, at Madras, 176, and note. At Bombay, 177, note. Establishment of Supreme Court at Bombay, 178. Endeavours to extend the jurisdiction of the Court, 179. Writ of Habeas Corpus for Moro Ragunath, 180. Resisted under sanction of the Government, 181. Persistence of Sir John Grant, *ibid.* 182. Sir John Grant closes the Court, *ibid.* Supreme Court of Bombay claims the power of the Court of King's Bench, 183. Limitation of the power of the Supreme Court in India, 184. Popular feelings on the decision on Sir John Grant's petition, 288, and note. Necessity of a Legislative Council, 185.—Proposed composition of, 186, 187. Provisions for a Legislative Council in the Charter, 187.
- Jyntia district, disorders of, ix. 235. Annexation of, *ibid.*
- Kachar, difficult nature of the country, ix. 66. Annexed to the British possessions, 234.
- Kamaon, province, ceded to the British, viii. 44. See Nepal.
- Kandi Rao, nephew of Holkar, his singular fate, vii. 55.
- Karim Khan, Pindari chief, vii. 79. See Pindaris.
- Kasys, hill tribe, kill Lieutenants Beldingfield, Burlton, and Mr. Bowman, at Nankiao, ix. 224. Cause of the outrage, 225. Retaliations upon, *ibid.* Terms made with, *ibid.*
- Katti tribe, reduced by Colonel Stanhope, viii. 361.
- Khands, a primitive tribe on the borders of Cuttack, described, viii. 271.
- Khatmandu, capital of Nepal, viii. 9.
- Khyen-bran, emigrant in Chittagong, makes an attack on Arakan, ix. 13. See Arakan.
- Khurda, Raja of, a descendant of the Kings of Orissa, viii. 100. See Cuttack. Insurrection in, 101.
- Kishmé, the island of, occupied, viii. 321. Is claimed by Persia and evacuated, 324.
- Kittur district, disputed succession to itself, ix. 120. Insurrection of its garrison, 121. Surrender of the insurgents, 122.
- Kolapur, the Raja of, claims the district of Kagal, ix. 122. A force under Colonel Welsh despatched against him, 123. Makes a new treaty, *ibid.*
- Koles, tribe of, 374. (See Sambhalpur and Chota Nagpur.) Slaughter of, ix. 231. No interpreter for their language, 235.
- Konkan, laxity of the Native Government, viii. 314. Sir W. G. Keir occupies Niuti, and storms Rairi, 318. These forts and the line of coast ceded to the British, 319. Treaty with Kolaba, *ibid.*
- Kota, a division of Haravati, vii. 96. See Rajasthan.
- Kongal Naik, Poligar of Terukeri, ix. 247. Defeats Colonel Waugh at Bak, 248.
- Krishna Kumari, princess of Udaypur, story of, vii. 60. Is poisoned with her own consent, 63, and note.

- Kshetrapati Karavir, Raja of Kolapur, ix. 122
- Ladhuba, prince of Cutch, murdered, viii. 313. See Cutch.
- La Perouse, the French navigator, discovery of the place of his shipwreck, ix. 165
- Latter, Captain, commands a native corps in Nepal, viii. 16. His operations, 37
- Lauderdale, Lord, nominated Governor-General by the King's minister, vii. 106. This appointment opposed by the Court of Directors, 107. Is superseded by Lord Minto, *ibid.*
- Lawtie, Lieutenant, death of, regretted by the army, viii. 44
- Legislative Council, instituted, ix. 200, 201
- Lucknow, capital of Oude, court of, see Oude, viii. 79
- Macao, expedition to, vii. 227. The Portuguese authorities averse to the landing of the troops, *ibid.* Chinese authorities object, *ibid.* Viceroy of Canton repeats his order for the re-embarkation and stops the trade, 331. Indication of hostile proceedings, 332. Troops re-embarked, *ibid.* Ships depart, 333
- Macaulay, Colonel, resident at Travancore, vii. 192. See Travancore.
- Macbean, Colonel, commands the Madras troops in Ava, ix. 33
- M'Creagh, Colonel, commands the Bengal troops in Ava, ix. 33
- Macdonald, Colonel, his mission to Persia, ix. 170
- Macdowall, Hay, Lieut.-General, commanding the Madras army, refused a seat in the council, vii. 188. Resigns, his remonstrance, *ibid.* note. Places Colonel Munro under arrest, 192. His request of an appointment for Captain Macdowall rejected, 193. Refuses to forward Colonel Munro's appeal, 194. Is commanded to release Col. Munro, *ibid.* Protests, *ibid.* Publishes an angry general order, *ibid.* Lost at sea, 196
- Machori, principality of, terms of British alliance made under Lord Wellesley, vii. 72. British protection of, not relinquished, *ibid.* See Alwar.
- Mahipat Ram, early friend of Sekandar Jah, receives the title of Raja and an appointment on the Berar frontier of the Dekhin, vii. 23. Hostile to the British, *ibid.* Compelled to retire to his estates, raises a force, defeats the Nizam's troops, and puts to death Mr. Gordon, 24. A British force under Colonel Montresor is marched against him, and he finally takes refuge with Holkar, 25. Offers to retire for a pension, his unconditional surrender required, *ibid.* Remains in Holkar's camp, *ibid.* Slain in a tumult, 26
- Mahrattas, loss of their predominance among the native states of India, vii. 2, 3. Exemplification of their diplomacy, 11, 12. Nature of British connection with the Peshwa, 27. The British undertake to adjust his claims upon the Gaekwar and Nizam, 28. Subjects of grievance and intricacy of the claims of the Peshwa, 29. His wishes to revive the office of Sir-Subah disappointed (see Guzerat), 30, 31. Berar, 41. Aversion of the Peshwa Baji Rao to the sons of Parushram Baho, 212. Applies for the assistance of British troops to dispossess them, 213. Sir Arthur Wellesley opposes the application, *ibid.* Settlement of their differences, *ibid.* Cession of the ports of Wari and Malwah to the British, *ibid.* Extinction of their power, viii. 121-260. See Peshwa.
- Malabar Coast, political position of its states, in 1805, vii. 5.
- Malacca dependency made subordinate to Bengal, ix. 173. Annexation of Naning, 224, 231
- Malcolm, Colonel (Sir John), success of his mission to the court of Persia, vii. 158. Is appointed to a second mission, 160. Returns abruptly to Calcutta, 161. Arrives at Teheran, *ibid.* Invited by Baji Rao to an interview, viii. 162. (Brigadier General) commands a division of the army of the Dekhin, 264. Receives the Peshwa's proposal of surrender, 244. His interview with the Peshwa, 256. Observations on the conditions agreed on by him with the Peshwa, 257. Takes the fort of Asirgerh, 258. Appointed Governor of Bombay, ix. 168. Remark on the discussions with the Supreme Court, 194
- Maligam Fort, garrisoned by Arabs, viii. 243. Description of, *ibid.* Unsuccessful attack of, 244. Surrender of, 245
- Malwa (see Sindhia, Holkar), claims on the lands requiring British interference, viii. 288. Assignments to the Grasias, *ibid.* Commutation of claims, 289. Apprehensions excited by a Hindu fanatic who pretended to work miracles, *ibid.*
- Manipur state, sketch of its history, ix. 21, 22. Burma interference with, 23. Gambhir Sing's expedition, 66. Its independence recognised by the Burmas, 106. The Raja dying, the succession is protected by the British, 227.
- Man Sing, Raja of Jodhpur, vii. 59. Disputed succession, 62. Quarrel with the Raja of Jaypur, 63. Gains over Amir Khan, 66. Reconciled with the Jaypur Raja, viii. 126. Intimidated by his chiefs, 127. Feigns imbecility and abdicates,

- charge of Colonel Dick, 37. Major Latter's successful operations, *ibid.* Colonel Gardner advances, 31. Captain Hearsay taken prisoner, *ibid.* Colonel Nicolls takes Kameon, 39. General Martindell blockades Jytak, 40. Fort of Surajgerh described, 41. Post of Deothal taken by Colonel Thompson, 42. Enemy repulsed, 43. Malaoon surrenders, *ibid.* Amar Sing surrenders himself and fort, 45. The Gorkhas sue for peace, *ibid.* Treaty proposed to them, 46. Hostilities recommence, 49. Ascent of the Chiria-ghati Pass, *ibid.* Action of the Sekhur-Khati, 51. Peace concluded, 52. Observations on the campaign, 53. On the Nepalese, 54. Their policy, 55. Appeal to China, 56. General observations, 57, 58, Appendix.
- Nicolls, Lieutenant-Colonel. Success in Nepal, 17, 18. Commands a division at Bhurtpure, ix. 134.
- Ochterlony, Sir David, Major-General, viii. 15. His operations in Nepal, 26, 27. Compels Amar Sing to retire, 30, 31. To make terms, 45. Beats the Nepalese in a second campaign, 52. Resident at Delhi, he invests the heir of Ranjit Sing of Bhurtpure with the Khelat, ix. 123. Collects forces to maintain the young Raja, 128. His orders revoked by command of the Governor-General, 130. Resigns his civil appointment, *ibid.* Honors paid to his memory, *ibid.* General order on his decease, *ibid.* His views of the feud at Jodhpur, 340.
- O'Hara, Lieutenant, killed in Nepal, viii. 19.
- Okamandal, district of, transferred to the Gackwar, viii. 82.
- Omratz, fort of, reduced by Lieutenant-Colonel Collette, ix. 121.
- Opium. Restrictions on its cultivation, viii. 296. Hardship of the prohibition of the trade in Malwa, 297. Compensation for its prohibition, 298. Channels of the traffic of, from Malwa and the Rajput States, ix. 174. Measures to prevent the transit of, 175. Stipulations regarding it in treaties with the native princes, *ibid.* Articles of the treaty regarding it with Udaypur, *ibid.* note. Discontent excited by the prohibition of its culture, 176. Restrictions on it abandoned, *ibid.* Licences granted for its export, 177. Comparative statement of licences sold, 178, note.
- Oude, Nawab of, Sadat Ali Khan, his character and position, vii. 18. Wishes to transfer his dominions to his son, *ibid.* Grievances of the Nawab, 19. Change of system in his fiscal administration recommended, 268. Embarrassment arising from undefinable stipulations in the treaty obtained by Lord Wellesley, 267. He assents to the recommendation to take as a model the regulations introduced into the provinces, 269. Doubts their practicability, *ibid.* Altercations with the Resident, 270. The Nawab complains of the Resident, *ibid.* Reform insisted upon by Lord Minto, 272. The Nawab acquiesces in the reform proposed by Lord Minto, 274. Different views of Lord Moira, *ibid.* Death of the Nawab Sadat Ali, viii. 79. Accession of Ghazi-ud-din, *ibid.* System of reform adopted, *ibid.* Its failure, *ibid.* Dissatisfaction of the Nawab, *ibid.* Visit of Lord Moira to Lucknow, *ibid.* Loan made by the Nawab, *ibid.* Private complaint against the Resident by the Nawab, 80. He disavows it, 90. Remarks on the sudden change of the Nawab, 81. His requests regarding the Resident, *ibid.* Acquiescence and views of Earl Moira, 82. The Resident obtains a second loan, *ibid.* Estrangement of the Nawab, 83. Removal of the Resident, *ibid.* Remarks on these transactions, 84. Refractory Zemindars, and robbers of, 373. The Nawab Vizier assumes a regal style, 374. Demands of the king of, upon Agar Mir, ix. 288 (see Aar Mir). Appointment of Hakim Medhi Ali Khan as minister of, 259. His administration opposed by the Resident, 259. And by the Governor-General, *ibid.* Contradictory behaviour of the Resident, 260. Extreme measures towards, proposed by Lord William Bentinck, 260. Misrepresentations regarding the condition of, *ibid.*, 261, and note. Indications of sinister policy towards, *ibid.*, and note. Hakim Medhi dismissed, 262. Subsequent condition of, 262.
- Outram, Lieutenant, his influence with the Bhils, ix. 119, note.
- Paget, Sir Edward, Commander-in-chief, ix. 32. His opinion of an attack on Burma, *ibid.*
- Palamu district. Riot against the Zemindar, viii. 87.
- Palembang, sultan of, murders the Dutch, vii. 263. Deposed by Colonel Gillespie, 264. Cedes Banca to the British, *ibid.*
- Palmer and Company, establish a bank at Hyderabad, viii. 345. Obtain the sanction of the Marquis of Hastings for a loan to the Nizam, *ibid.* Their second loan to Chandu Lal, 346. Interdicted by the Company, 347. Further transactions, 347. Purchase the tribute of the Northern Circars, 348. Compelled to close their transactions, ix. 5, 6. Decision of law in their favor, 280. Proceeding in the liquidation of their affairs

of, 231, 232. Their claims on Munir-al-Mulk, 233
 Palpa, Raja, viii. 7, (see Nepal.)
 Parliamentary influence. Flagrant instance of its corrupt application, ix. 256, 261.
 Case of Mr. Hodges, 362. Case of Mr. J. Hutchinson, 363
 Paton, Major, Defeats the Gorkhas at Almoru, viii. 33
 Patronage. State of the question between the Crown and the East India Company, vii. 105-108. Crown patronage settled, 112. Corrupt practices investigated by the House of Commons, 357. Distribution of, defended, ix. 421, and note.
 Paull, James, vii. 103. His proceedings in Parliament against Lord Wellesley, 109. Ill-concerted and unsupported, 110. Ceases to be a Member the House, 112
 Pellow, Sir Edward, his perception of the state of affairs at Java. Solicits the Indian Government to sanction an expedition—obtains a small force—takes Graseh, vii. 353
 Pemberton, Captain, accompanies Gambhir Sing to Manipur, ix. 65. His report on the Eastern frontier question, note, 317
 Persia. Its relations with Napoleon, vii. 157. Cause of war with Russia, 161. Apply for aid to the Indian Government, 159. Lord Grey appoints Sir E. Pakenham, 161. Sir J. Malcolm proceeds from India, 159. The King orders more on France, 160. Plans to drive officers to the British, 161. The French embassy dissolved, 161. Sir E. Pakenham gives a picture of the peaceful intentions of Russia, 161. Sir J. Malcolm's mission renewed, 161. Sir George Casleby concludes a treaty, 162. The Shah of Persia sends Colonel Macdonald as envoy of the East India Company, ix. 164. The climax of under the treaty of 1814, 161. Differences with Russia, 161. Commence hostilities, 161. Military operations, 161. Successes of the Russians, 161. Interposition of the British army, 161. Victory of the Persians at Merv, 161. Russian retreat by the Russians, 162. Mediation of Colonel Macdonald, 161. Concludes a treaty of peace at Turkmenchah, 162. Decline of British influence, 161. Remnants on it, 161
 Peshwa. The story of his downfall, vii. 104. Character of Balaji Rao, 104. His government, 104. of his domestic, 104. Family, 104. Subjects of dispute with the Resident, 107. See Appendixes. Transactions with the Court of Directors, 104. With General Sir J. M. 104. Assassination of the Shah, 104. The Resident demands an investigation, 104. Story of Timbakh, 104. See Timbakh.

The Peshwa promotes the Mahratta federation, 113. His complaints against the British, 148, 149. His collusion with Timbakhji, 149. Secret levies of troops, 150, 151. Dispersed by British troops, 151. The Peshwa compelled to give security for the apprehension of Timbakhji, 151. Receives notice that the treaty of Bassein must be revised, 151. Rewards for the apprehension of Timbakhji, 151. Conditions of a new treaty, proposed by the Resident, 152. Remarks in extenuation of this proceeding, 153. Signs the treaty and protests, 154. Meditates hostility, 154. Position of the British forces, 157. Conference between the Resident and his minister, 155. Movements of the troops, 154. Action of Kirki, 159, 160. Arrival of General Smith's division, 160. The Peshwa flies to Parandhar, 172. Poonah occupied, 212. His route intercepted by General Smith, 214. He returns towards Poonah, carries off the Raja of Satara, 214. Action of Kirki, 215. Action of Kirki, 215. Forts of Satara surrendered, Peshwa formally deposed, 214. Battle of Adli, 221. End of his affairs, 221. His death caused by Colonel Munro, at Satara, 222. Termination of relations in the Deccan, 224. The country retained by Colonel Munro, 220. Raja of Satara retained, 220. Soldiers taken by assault, 221. Part of the Shah captured, 221. English with the wife and treasure of the Peshwa, surrenders to Colonel Broderick, 221. British retained, 221. Pursued by Colonel Munro at the Narmada, 224. The Peshwa surrenders Sir J. Malcolm to make terms for his surrender, 225. Conditions granted, 225. He surrenders the British arms, 225. Operations approved by Lord Hastings on the terms of the surrender, 225. Resolves in justification of them, 225, 226. Resolves assigned him at Satara, 225. Termination of the life and of the Mahratta power, 226
 Phillips, Lieutenant, killed at Gurdah, ix. 157
 Political intercourse. Progress upon the Eastern frontier, vii. 161. Some accounts of them, 161. of their leaders, 161. of the British and British-Indian-Indian, 161. Charles Chatter and Indian rulers, 161. Murdered by Sind, 161. with other rulers with Sind Khan, 161. Lessons to the administration of British, 161. Forces of Lord Munro and Vell Mohammed, their resources, 161. Order of government, 161. Quality and quantity of, 161. Field of their operations, 161. Interventions of Lord Munro in British interest and India, 161. Invasion of Chattr, intervention of British, 161. Descriptive memoirs of Chattr, 161. Story of the life of Chattr, 161. by a British

detachment, *ibid.* Invade Kuttack and Berar, *ibid.* Surprised by Major Macdonall at Bedar, *ibid.*, by Major Lushington at Logam, 140. Captain Drake killed, *ibid.* Necessity of extirpating them, *ibid.* Expected resistance to the plan, *ibid.* Earl Moira's determination, 141, announced to Sindhia, 142. Mr. Canning's counter-propositions, *ibid.*, note, 143. Reply of the Governor-General. Sindhia expresses his concurrence in their punishment, 147. Plan of the army, 155. Amount of the force, *ibid.* Sindhia compelled to abandon them, 180. Their communication with Gwalior cut off, *ibid.* Are retarded in their retreat through Cota, *ibid.* Their rear-guard, dispersed at the Nimghat, by Colonel Newberry, 181. Their baggage and the wife of Karim Khan taken at Kalana, 182. Karim Khan pursued by Colonel Adams, *ibid.* A party cut off at Rajgerh Patan, *ibid.* A party taken at Tara Ghat—remainder join Holkar's army, *ibid.* Cheetoo, forced from the Chamba, encamps at Singoli, and finally at Mewar, 183. Review of the operations, 184. They re-assemble at Chitore, retire to the neighbourhood of Chitore, 211, to Mandapi, *ibid.*, to Kanode, *ibid.* Major Heath captures their elephants and camels, 212. At Kotri are cut off by Major Clark, 213. Finally dispersed on the confines of Bhopal, by Colonel Adams, 214. Fate of their chiefs, 315. Remarks on their fidelity to their chiefs—on the sympathy of the peasantry, 217. Reappearance of, *ix.* 118
 Piracy, suppression of, in the ports of Arabia Concan, *vii.* 275. The Joansmis of Arabia described, *ibid.* Their audacity, 276. An expedition sent from Bombay, *ibid.* Imam of Muscat assists it, 277. Ras-al-Khaima taken and burnt, *ibid.* Obstinacy of the garrison of Shinas and Kishme, *ibid.* Pirates of Oman restrained, *ibid.* Police arrangements for newly acquired provinces, *vii.* 82. How conducted under native governments, 272. Defects of under the British, 273. Insufficiency of Magistrates, 277. And of Thannas, *ibid.* Withdrawn from Zemindars, 278. Decay of native institutions, *ibid.* Penal regulations not enforced, 279. Superintendents of Police, for Eastern and Western Provinces, *ibid.* Extraordinary powers vested in Magistrates, 280. Employment of spies, *ibid.* Gang-robbery checked, 234. Alterations of system proposed, *viii.* 380. Objected to in Bengal, 331. Regulations for improving Police system, 332. Changes adopted at Madras, 333. And at Bombay, 334. New code at Bombay, *ix.* 129. Officers of police placed under Commissioners, 254

Press in India, restrictions on, viii. 412.
Partially removed by the Marquis of
Blastings, 413. The Calcutta Journal,
ibid.. Other papers, 414, note.
Prithi Narayan, Gorkha Raja, his successor
in Nepal, viii. 5
Promé, town of Burma, occupation of, by
the British army, ix. 89, 99
Proprietary rights, investigation of, vii. 310.
Opinions of Hindu writers, regarding,
311. Opinion of Mohammedan, 312.
General practice in exercise of, 313. Va-
riety of the ownership of, 316. That of
communities or villages, 317. Of castes
in whom vested, 318. Division of agen-
cies of, 319. Acquisition of, permitted
to Europeans, ix. 259
Purandhar Sing, governor of Central Asam
ix. 18, 19. Driven out by the Burmese
20. Restored by the British as a tributary
sovereign, 321
Purnea, Brahman, guardian of the mirror,
Raja of Mysore, his administration,
4, (see Mysore).
Governor-General's a
Services at Calcutta

Raffles, Mr., the Governor-General's a
at Malacca, vii. 255. Arrives at Cal
ibid. Accompanies Lord Minto on
expedition to Java, 256. His mea
as Lieutenant-Governor, 263. Hi
provement of the colony, 264. So
his measures disapproved of by the
of Directors, 264. Receives the
coolen, ibid.
Raghuji Bhonsla, Raja of Nagp
death, viii. 97. (see Apa Saheb).
Raigerh fort, capture of, viii. 22
brated in history, ibid.
Raigerh district, its chief, Jujar
sists successfully in his claim to
protection, vii. 47 (see Sambha
Rajasthan, or Rajawara, geogr
political position, vii. 60. F
the Rajas of Jaypur and
Appropriation of the revenue
Maharatta ascendancy, 62.
Jaypur trusts for support to
with the British governme
George Barlow denies the
the treaty, 64. Plunder
65. By Amir Khan, ibid.
by Sindhia, who besiege
Rana of Udaypur and t
British protection on t
having assumed the su
Consequences to Centra
fusal of the British go
fere, ibid. Aggressio
Jesselmer, 68. In F
In Macheri, vii. 293.
its chiefs, vii. 293.
tary oppressors, 294
Sirohi, 295. Raja
pute with his Th

INDEX.

Karauli fails in his engagements, 296.
 Raja of Haravati's treaty with the British, *ibid.* Arrangements of the succession at his death, 297. Separation of the title of Raja of Kota from the administrative power, 298. Death of the Raja, and objections of his successor, 299. Arrangement upheld, *ibid.* Duty imposed on the resident at Kota, 300. Treaties with Udaypur, *ibid.* Jaypur, 301. Jodhpur, 302. Bikaner, 303. Jesselmer, 304. (See those places respectively. Characteristics of the country, 305. Transactions at Kota, ix. 299. Incongruity of the new form of government occasions a division of the territory, *ibid.* Deva Krishan Rao at Bundi, assassinated in open Durbar, 300. Mr. Trevellyan interposes, *ibid.* Excitement allayed, *ibid.* Settlement of the frontiers of, 305. Sirohi, Chappan, Mehrwara, 309. Domestic feuds of, 313. Dhokal Sing, *ibid.* The Khosas, 314. Depredations on Jesselmer, Krishnager, 315. Indemnified by Jodhpur, 316. Submission of Shekhawati chiefs, 317. Benefits to, of British interposition, 319.
 Rajputana, its principalities, viii. 294, note (see Rajasthan). Constitution of a Rajput state, 295.
 Ramohun Roy, his mission to the king of England, ix. 255. Not recognised, 256. His acquirements, writings, religion, political views, *ibid.*, note.
 Ranjit Sing, chief of the Sikhs, vii. 104. Crosses the Setlej, 134. Alarms the chiefs of the Doab, 135. Claims the right of the Jumna, 136. His transactions with Sir C. Metcalfe, 137. Concludes a treaty with the British, 138. Receives a letter and present from the king of England, ix. 284. His conference with the Governor-General, 285.
 Rangoon, town and river of, ix. 35 (see Burmese War).
 Ras-al-Khaima, capture of, viii. 318 (see Muscat).
 Reddy Rao, accountant of the Nawab of Arcot, vii. 170. Accused of forging a bond, 173. Protected by Sir G. Barlow, 174. Found guilty, 194. Witnesses in his favour convicted of perjury, *ibid.* Found guilty on another charge, *ibid.* The Chief Justice obtains his pardon, *ibid.* Poisons himself, 176.
 Revenue, local commission of, for Cutch, vii. 81. Change of opinions on the best mode of settlement, 327. Investigation of the subject, 328 (see Proprietary Rights). Extension of the perpetual settlement with Zemindars to the Madras Presidency, 329. The Ryotwar or specific settlements introduced, 330. Zemindari settlements suspended, 331. The Ryotwar incom-

patible with judicial arrangements, 332. Village leases substituted, 337. Abandoned, 342. Perpetual settlement suspended at Madras, *ibid.* Report of commissioners on, *ibid.* Maintained by Lord Minto, disapproved of by Court of Directors, 334. Discussion of the subject, 335. Practical effects of the Zemindari system in Bengal, 336. The system rescinded, *ibid.* Questions of assignments, 337. Of leases, *ibid.* Collectors in the western provinces ordered to investigate titles, *ibid.* Assessment of houses in Bengal, 338. Opposed at Benares, 338 (see Benares). Carried into effect at Patna. Moorsdabad, finally at Dacca, 339. House tax extended, viii. 86. Opposed to it at Bareilly, 87. Occasions outbreak, 88 (see Bareilly). Disturbances produced by fiscal arrangements in Behar, 92. In the N. Circars, Palamu, *ibid.* In Cuttack, 94. Orissa, *ibid.* Ruin of the Zemindari, 95. Application of surplus, ix. 4. Assistance of the Patel of Omraiz account of, 98. Increase of, from opium monopoly, 127, note. Defrauded by pretended grants of exemption, 128. Grants of exemption held valid by British government, *ibid.* Review enactments regarding the collectors, *ibid.* Appointment of special commissioners to decide appeals, *ibid.* Provincial Boards of, abolished, new commissioners appointed, 130. The commission of revenue and judicial functions not unsuitable to the state of things, 131, and note. Settlement of, for western provinces, 157. Basis taken for the assessment of, 158. Reports of settlements of, referred to, *ibid.*, note.
 Reynell, Major-General, commands a division against Bhurtpore, ix. 134.
 Richards, Major, his success at Jyt, viii. 23. Employed in Asam, ix. Takes Arakan, 77.
 Robbers, various classes of, vii. 272. Their number and audacity, 273 (see Police). Practices of the Dakoits, 274.
 Roshan Beg, a commandant at Mahidpur, viii. 172. See Helkar.
 Ryot Tenantry, different classes of, 323.
 Sadat Ali Nawab (see Oude), his death, 1814, viii. 78.
 Sale, Major, of the 13th, engages a Burmese of rank in single conflict, ix. 50. Defeats the enemy and destroys an intrenchment at Rangoon, 58. Heads a column and captures guns, 59. Is wounded carrying an entrenchment at Koki, 60. Commands an expedition to B-

- aceln River, 83. Is wounded in the capture of Melloon, 100
- Salt, the monopoly of, viii. 97. Compulsory labour in its manufacture prohibited, 417
- Sambhalpur District, subject to Rajpoot chiefs, vii. 41. People disaffected to the Maharattas, *ibid.* Averse to the withdrawal of the British, *ibid.* Agree to emigrate to Cuttack, *ibid.* Change their resolution and are abandoned, 42.
- Jujar Sing of Raigori an exception, *ibid.* Discontent of the Koles of, ix. 232; of the Ryots, 233. The Rani removed, *ibid.*
- Satara, Raja of, descendant of Sivaji, seized by the Peshwa, viii. 211. His fort surrendered to General Smith, 217. The Raja re-captured, 219. Installed in his principality, 227. His standard assumed by Godaji Danglia, ix. 107
- Schools, defects of the native system, viii. 411. Objects of the missionary schools, *ibid.*; of the government colleges, 412. Establishment of the college at Calcutta, *ibid.*; of Madras, 413. Encouragement of, by Lord Amherst, ix. 179. Progress of native education, *ibid.*, note. Progress of, under Lord W. Bentinck, 253. The English language cultivated exclusively in, 254. Objections to the exclusion of the native languages from, *ibid.* Restoration of scholarships to the native. Seminary by Lord Auckland, 255
- Sekander Jah, Nizam or Viceroy of the Dekhin, vii. 21. See Dekhin.
- Sekhar Khatri in Nepal, action of, viii. 53
- Soyer, Major, disperses the troops of Shaikh Dalla, ix. 119
- Shah Alem, under British guardianship, vii. 7, 15. Succeeded by Shah Akbar, 16
- Shah Shuja-ul-Moolk, vii. 152. See Afghanistan.
- Shaikh Dalla, Pindari Chief, his incursion into Burhanpur, ix. 118
- Shams-ud-din. See Ferozpur.
- Shans, tribes dependant on Ava, ix. 97
- Shekhawati District, ix. 462. See Rajasthan
- Sholapur Fort, description of, viii. 228. Reduced by General Munro, 229
- Showers, Captain, slays a Gorkha chief in single combat, viii. 43. Killed, *ibid.*
- Shwedagon. Buddhist shrine at Rangoon, ix. 41
- Siamese. Talien chiefs in their service offer to join in the invasion of Burmah, ix. 81. Incursions of, on the Burmahs, 91. Desire to co-operate with the British in the war, *ibid.* Recall their troops, 92. Aggressions of, on the coast of Tenasserim checked, 93
- Sibley, Captain, slain in the Nepal war, viii. 36
- Sikhs. Their origin, vii. 73. Congress in the Punjab, 73. Supplant Moguls, 74. Ascendancy of, *ibid.* Sing, 75. Relations with the Brit 141 (see Ranjit Sing). Insurrection, ix. 136
- Singapore. History of its occupation, viii. 327. Objections raised by Dutch, 328
- Sindh. Its princes exercised no influence on the politics of India, vii. 5. Sketch of its history, 149, 150. Governed by the brothers of Fati Ali, and Talpura tribe independent in their triets, 161. Alliance sought by Government of Bengal, discourages 162. Sends an agent to Boml *ibid.* Captain Seton's treaty was being inexpedient, a second treaty was 163. Collision with the troops of, the borders of Cutch, viii. 346. Compelled by Lieutenant-Colonel Sturges *ibid.* Make a treaty, 347. The object, promote disturbances in Cutch, 123, 124. Menace that province, 124. The Amirs of, averse to a connection with Europeans, 291. Stipulations the commercial treaties with, 292. Assist Shah Shuja, 293. Are compelled to give him further assistance, 294
- Sindhia, Dowlut Rao. Reduction of his power, vii. 45. New treaty, *ibid.* More discussions, 46. Balance settled, *ibid.* Too weak to maintain his preponderance among the Rajputs, 47. Is invited to invade the principality of Bhopal, *ibid.* Captures Islamnagar, the capital. Conciliated by Vizier Mohammed, *ibid.* Distracted in his councils. At Ajjaj's death, occupies the fortress Gwalior, 49. Respectful policy maintained towards him, 50. Secretly promotes distractions in Malwa, viii. 1. Negotiates with the Bhonsla and the Peshwa for the maintenance of the Mahratta empire, 123. Disturbed state of his own territories, 124. Stands in awe of the British power, 125. Pindar in his service, 132. Disavows his Pindari connection, 140. Services rendered him by the British, 271. Persists in declining a subsidiary alliance, 272. Declines to declare a successor, ix. 146. Review of his reign, 147. His demise, and settlement of the succession, 148. Loan by the Bhai Regent to the Government, *ibid.* The minor Raja ordered by the British Government a separate seal, 357. Conference and admonition to, of the Governor-General, 358. Accession of the Raja Janakaji, 359, 360
- Singphos, incursion of, into Asam, ix. 218.

Rao Ghatka, excluded by treaty from
 Adhia's councils, vii. 48. Returns to
 Durbar, *ibid.* Killed there, 63
 district, see Rajasthan. Necessity
 for its protection, ix. 365
 Shi, principality. Position of, viii. 322.
 British connection with, *ibid.*
 Abaldi, in the vicinity of Nagpur, action
 of, viii. 191
 Ram Raoji, ex-minister of Baroda, viii.
 14
 th, Lieutenant-Colonel, commands the
 operations on the coast of Arabia, vii. 276.
 Takes Ras al Khaima and Kishme, 277.
 Receives the thanks of the Government,
ibid. Baffles the Mahratta insurgents at
 Laswar, viii. 175. Cuts off the retreat of
 the Peshwa, 211. Takes Satara, 217.
 Wins the battle of Ashti, 218. Is
 wounded, *ibid.*
 Anton, Captain. His brave defence at
 Karigaon, viii. 216. Retreats to Seroor,
 189. Receives the thanks of the Govern-
 ment-General, *ibid.*
 navigation to India, first employment
 of, ix. 215. Anticipated advantages of,
 216, note.
 Subsidiary alliance, character of, vii. 21.
 Obligations of, examined, viii. 376
 Quez, route by, to India, first adopted,
 ix. 216
 Ramatra. Sultan of Palembang, murders
 the Dutch, vii. 262. Is deposed by Col-
 nel Gillespie, 264. Banca island ceded to
 the British, *ibid.*
 Suttee, rite of. Why tolerated, ix. 155.
 Attempted check of, result of, 156. Opposi-
 tion on the consequences of its suppression,
 187. Official return of the number that

to the British by treaty, 105. Value of
 the possession, 112. Insurrection at Ta-
 voy, 327. Conspiracy at Mergul, *ibid.*
 Tent contract abolished, vii. 189. Remarks
 on it, *ibid.*
 Thomas, George, account of, vii. 19
 Thugs, hereditary murderers, description of,
 ix. 207. Association of, not confined to a
 caste, 208. The practice regarded as an
 avocation, *ibid.* Superstitious practices
 of, 209. Origin of, *ibid.* Antiquity of,
 210, note. Suppression of, by the British,
ibid. Protection of, by the natives, 211.
 Orders for effectual suppression, *ibid.* 212.
 Numbers arrested and tried, *ibid.*
 Tiral Sing, Kasya, chief, ix. 277 (see
 Kasyas).
 Trade, value of, in 1834, in comparative
 statement, 159, note.
 Travancore, affairs of after the expulsion of
 Tippee, vii. 4. The Rajah required to dis-
 miss his "Carnatic Brigade" opposed
 against the treaty, *ibid.* Demand of the
 Dewan to the Resident, *ibid.* Resolves a
 revolt, *ibid.* Attack on the Resident, *ibid.*
 Colonel Clive's defeat the Dutch near
 Quilon, *ibid.* Major Munro's proposal
 to retreat from the Malabar coast, *ibid.*
 Colonel Munro sent to reinforce Tippee,
ibid. Death of the Dutch at Quilon, *ibid.*
 Is ordered to Quilon by the Dewan,
 186. British reinforcements, *ibid.* British
 sent from India, Colonel de Bussy, at
 Quilon, *ibid.* Issues ordered by Major Munro,
 186. Colonel Clive's defeat the Dutch
 near Quilon, *ibid.* The treaty pro-
 posed by Colonel Clive, *ibid.* The
 Dewan's demands, *ibid.* The treaty
 of the Resident approved by the Government

The Supplement to the Rose Garden. With Four additional Plates. By WILLIAM PAUL. Imperial 8vo, price 5s.

Every Lady her own Flower Gardener. A Manual for Ladies managing their own Gardens. By LOUISA JOHNSON. Tenth Edition. Beautifully Coloured Vignette and Frontispiece. In a neat pocket vol., price 2s., cloth gilt.

Second Edition, price 5s.

The Gamekeeper's Directory, for the Preservation of Game, the Destruction of Vermin, and the Prevention of Poaching.

"The Gamekeeper's Directory must always rank high as an authority."—*Sporting Magazine*.

A Practical Guide for Retail Tradesmen and others to Account-keeping on the principle of Dr. and Cr., called Book-keeping by Double Entry, illustrated by Models for Real Estate, Retailers, and any other Accounts. J. CALDECOTT. Second Edition, 5s.

Whateley's (Archbishop) Detached Thoughts on Apophthegms on the Love of Truth in Religious Enquiry, 12mo. cloth, 3s.

The Morning of Life: a Memoir of Miss A——n, who was educated for a Nun, with many interesting Particulars, and Original Letters of Dr. Doyle, late Roman Catholic Bishop of Carlow. By HER FRIEND, M. M. C. M. Elegantly printed and bound, with attractive Portrait, on India paper. Small 8vo, cloth, price 2s. 6d.

The Grand Discovery; or the Paternal Character of God. By the Rev. GEORGE GILFILLAN, Dundee. Cloth, 1s. 6d.

A Pocket Guide to the Isle of Wight. By A. WHITEHEAD. Price 2s. 6d., 18mo, gilt edges.

The Magnetism of Ships, and the Mariner's Compass; being a Rudimentary Exposition of the Induced Magnetism of Iron in Sailing Vessels, and its Action on the Compass in Different Latitudes and under Diversified Circumstances. By WILLIAM WALKER, Commander, R.N. Fcap. 8vo., with Illustrations, price 5s., cloth.

2nd Edition. 8vo, cloth, 10s. 6d.

The Sailing Boat; a Description of English and Foreign Boats, their Varieties of Rig, and Practical Directions for Sailing. By HENRY COLEMAN FOLKARD, R.N.Y.C.

A Manual of Sepulchral Memorials. By the Rev. EDWARD TROLLOPE, F.S.A. Small 4t., cloth. 5s.

